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HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE
DEATH OF HENRY VIII.

TO THE

*ACCESSION OF JAMES VI. OF SCOTLAND TO
THE CROWN OF ENGLAND.*

BEING A CONTINUATION OF

DR. HENRY'S HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN,
AND WRITTEN ON THE SAME PLAN.
THE THIRD EDITION.

BY JAMES PETTIT ANDREWS, F. S. A.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

THAT presumption which may be laid to the author's charge, on his undertaking the continuation of a work so highly and deservedly esteemed as 'Dr. Henry's History of Great Britain,' would be in great measure done away, were he to bring forward the names of those friends by whose encouragement he was led to engage in the arduous task.

In the ensuing volumes, each track of the respectable historian above-mentioned has been followed with measured steps. The titles of his books, sections, and chapters, and even most of his marginal references,

have been copied with precision. One page in the Section of Commerce, dedicated to ‘inventions and improvements,’ is the only addition which the continuator has presumed to make; except, indeed, that of a copious index, a necessary appendage to history, although often neglected by the historian as too mechanical a task.

During the course of his work the author has owned his obligations to those printed works of his contemporaries from which he has received assistance. There only remain to be paid returns of gratitude for particular favors. Among these are the many lights thrown on the commerce and manners of Scotland. For these he is indebted to the benevolent communications of Sir John Sinclair, Dr. Geddes, Dr. Gillies, and Mr. Chalmers, who either lent or recommended to his perusal treatises (and particularly the Collection of Scottish Acts of Parliament, the most compendious and best-expressed

expressed of codes) which in great measure supplied that vacancy which had been left by the historians of the North; who, eager to recount the prowess of their countrymen in the field, and their progress in reformation and church-discipline, have neglected, as beneath their notice, to paint the state of the arts, of trade, of manufactures, and the increasing civilization of domestic life; which form the most interesting features of modern history.

His sincere and grateful acknowledgements are likewise due to Mr. Steevens and Mr. Seward for their judicious advice, and for the scarce books with which they have kindly assisted him; to Mr. Ayscough, who has, with the utmost readiness, permitted him to profit by the extensive library at the Museum; to Mr. Pye, for his valuable aid in the poetical department; and to him and Mr. Wrangham for their

their counsel and assistance during the progress of the history.

Each book, before its publication, has been submitted to the perusal of persons on whose judgment the author has a steady reliance; a precaution which has in great measure lessened that anxiety which he must have felt had his work encountered the keen eye of public criticism supported only by his own partial and fallible judgment.

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HISTORY

OF.

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.—PART I.

THE CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN, FROM THE DEATH OF HENRY VIII. A. D. 1547, TO THE FLIGHT OF MARY STUART INTO ENGLAND, A. D. 1569.

SECTION I.

NOTHING could exceed the expectations which were formed of the new king, although unfortunately he had but lately attained to his ninth year. By the will of Henry, sixteen guardians and twelve counsellors had been appointed to regulate his proceedings, and the majority were empowered ‘to govern the kingdom as they thought fit.’ But these in general having been more used to obey than to rule, and being most of them well inclined to the Reformation, willingly surrendered their authority to the Lord Hertford, the maternal uncle of Edward: a well-meaning man and a steady Protestant, but totally devoid

A. D. 1547:
Accession
of Ed-
ward VI.

A.D. 1547. devoid of that firmness of character which the delicacy of the present conjuncture demanded in a ruler. Peers were then created, in consequence of the late king's intention; to prove which* a regular inquiry was made, and witnesses examined: Hertford made Duke of Somerset and Protector. among these Hertford became Duke of Somerset, and soon after obtained from his royal nephew a patent, appointing him protector of the realm, with greatly extended powers. Wriothesly and Lisle became Earls of Southampton and of Warwick; and Seymour, Rich, Willoughby, and Sheffield, took titles from their names.

Somerset was closely attached to the Reformation, and its bitterest opposers soon felt the weight of his resentment. The Chancellor Wriothesly, accused of having illegally put the great seal in commission, lost his office; and Gardiner, who had distinguished his zeal for even the minutiae of Popery, was committed to the Fleet.

Invasion of Scotland.

Eager to pursue the late king's darling scheme, an union of the island-realms by marriage, the Protector marched (as soon as the affairs of England were brought into order) with 18,000 men, into the heart of Scotland. As he really meant well, he committed no ravages on his journey, and by his manifestos he explained his intentions to be amicable to both kingdoms. Unhappily the Scots, having

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 6, 7.

having mustered an army of double his force,^{* A.D. 1547.} looked on his moderation as the effect of fear,[†] and forced him to a battle at Musselburgh or ^{Battle of} Musselburgh. Pinkie, where they were defeated with uncommon slaughter: yet they had fought gallantly, but were overmatched by the superior discipline of the English, and by the active valour of Dudley Earl of Warwick; who, before the fight, had offered himself to answer a defiance sent by the Lord Huntley to Somerset, and had promised the herald a large reward, if he could bring the combat to bear.

The slaughter of the routed army was dreadful. 10,000 are said to have fallen; [1] but among these were several hundreds of fanatic monks, who by their bigotry had prevented an agreement between the sister-nations. The English shewed them no quarter, and none ever fell less pitied.

B 2

Intelligence

NOTES.

[1] More than 30,000 jacks and swords were taken as the spoils of the field. [PATTEN, &c.]

In this fight Edward, a son of Somerset by his first wife (the daughter of William Fillol) who had been long in disgrace with his father, distinguished his valour so successfully, that he was taken into favor, and an estate settled on him and his heirs, who, towards the end of the 17th century, succeeded to the ducal title, by failure of the *younger* branch.

The reason of Somerset's dislike to his eldest offspring (which has been little known, but was not unreasonable) may be found in the Herald's office.

* King Edw. Journal, p. 5.

† Holingshed, p. 985.

A.D. 1547.

Intelligence which the Protector had received of the machinations forming against him by the admiral, [2] his brother, prevented his pursuing the advantage he had gained in the north. He contented himself with receiving the homage of the southern part of Scotland, and leaving garrisons in places of strength.* He had a good excuse for quitting the army, as the regent of Scotland had desired an armistice, that he might send commissioners in order to treat of peace. But this was only a feint for the purpose of gaining time, and no such commissioners ever appeared.

On his return to the south, after gratifying his vanity by obtaining from the king a patent of precedence

NOTES.

[2] The accomplishments joined to the turbulent ambition of the Lord Seymour of Sudley, brother to the Protector, made him no contemptible enemy. He had even presumed to aim at the heart and hand of the Princess Elizabeth. Disappointed there, he wooed and won the Dowager Queen, Catharine Parr, who wedded him so hastily after the death of Henry, that, had she been pregnant soon after her nuptials, the father of the child might have been doubted. So fortunate, indeed, was this enterprising nobleman in his designs on the fair sex, that, in that credulous age, his success was universally ascribed to philtres and spells.

It has been said that a dispute concerning precedence, between the wives of Somerset and the admiral, first kindled that fire which destroyed the Seymours. But there is no good foundation for this tale. The artful Earl of Warwick, probably blew up the coals. [HIST. OF REFORMATION.

* Holingshed, p. 992.

cedence as to rank, the prudent duke influenced ^{A.D. 1547.} the Parliament to repeal the most obnoxious and tyrannic statutes of Henry VIII. particularly that which gave to the king's proclamation the force of a law.* An amnesty too was published; but Norfolk and three more were excepted.

It was about this time that the demise of Francis I. of France, [3] (which brought the bigot house of Guise into power) and the total subversion of the Protestants in Germany, by the power of the Emperor Charles V. and the treachery of Maurice of Saxony to his relation the elector, had deprived England of her surest friends, and had rendered the tenure of her possessions on the continent exceedingly precarious.

Many

NOTES.

[3] Francis I. was elegant, both in person and mind; he was generous and personally brave; this he evinced at the battle of Pavia, where he slew in single combat the heir of Scanderbeg's house. He loved and patronized the arts.

There was a real friendship, as well as some similitude of character, between him and Henry VIII. of England; and the death of the latter is said to have hastened that of Francis. He had however languished many years, in consequence of a disorder (for which no certain cure was then known) which had been communicated to him by conjugal vengeance. Fontainebleau, St. Germain, and Madrid in the Bois de Boulogne, are still monuments of his taste in architecture.

[DE THOU, DANIEL, &c.]

* 1 Edw. VI. cap. 2.

A.D. 1548: Many regulations concerning religion, all favorable to reformation, were made in 1548.*
 Progress of the Reformation. Shewy processions were abolished, the marriage of priests permitted, the use of images interdicted, and a new service ordered to be received in every church. The Protector was naturally mild; and, as he followed the advice of Cranmer, no harsh measures were adopted, even with recusants. It was at this period that the good archbishop, the bulwark of Protestantism, was seen at the head of the Roman Catholic prelates and peers, striving against a bill which gave collegiate and chauncry lands, to a vast amount, into the power of the Protector. He knew that they would all be swallowed by rapacious courtiers, and wished them to remain as they were until better times should come; but his integrity could not struggle successfully with avarice and rapine.+

In Scotland all went ill. The English proposal of a ten years' truce, and that the young queen should be left to her own choice at the end of that term, was rejected, chiefly by ecclesiastical influence. A corps of French, under Dessé,‡ (amounting to 6000 men, with many good officers and a fine train of artillery, enough to perpetuate, not to end, the calamities of the north) were sent by the new king, Henry II.; the English were wearied

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 149. Strype, vol. ii. p. 55.

+ Journals of Parliament. ‡ Buchanan, lib. xv.

wearied out of the places they possessed in the heart of Scotland; and, finally, Mary, then six years of age, was conveyed by the enterprising Villegagnon, (who with four galleys had found a passage round the Orkneys to the port of Dunbarton) in spite of the English fleet which guarded the seas, to France; much against the will of the most discerning among the Scottish nobility, who foresaw thenceforward perpetual dependence on France and war with England. The dukedom of Chatelherault and a pension to the regent Arran, and plenty of French gold scattered among the popular leaders, had brought about this imprudent measure.

Towards the end of 1548, the turbulent Lord Seymour, having lost his royal spouse Catharine,[4] formed anew* designs on the Princess Elizabeth

[4] Catharine Parr was remarkably learned, and published, during her life, many works which did credit to her piety and abilities. The accomplishments and arts of the admiral seduced her into an injudicious marriage, and she paid dearly for that imprudence which alone disgraced a life of virtue and discretion. She fell by poison, as is believed, given by her profligate husband, who had once again formed criminal projects on the English throne. She lies buried in the chapel of Sudly Castle, Gloucestershire; and her leaden coffin having been opened in 1782, her face, and even her eyes appeared in a state of uncommon preservation.

[ARCHEOLOGIA, VOL. IX.

* Stowe, p. 596. Strype's Notes on Hayward, p. 301.

A.D. 1548. Elizabeth. [5] He had had the address to gain the favour of the young king, who had actually requested, by a letter to the Protector, that the Lord Admiral should be appointed to be his governor.

Gentle as the disposition of Somerset naturally was, he could not longer avoid resenting the conduct of an ambitious rival, who, at this period, madly refused every offer of reconciliation ; fixed to ruin his brother or himself. The Protector was, therefore, obliged to deprive him of his post as admiral, and to send him to the Tower. He even summoned a Parliament, and proceeded against his brother by bill of attainder ;* a way more certain (as the members had not forgot to be

NOTES.

[5] Elizabeth had no aversion to Lord Seymour. It appears that Queen Catharine had been made uneasy by the romping freedoms which her husband took with the princess, and even at times condescended to watch their motions. Very curious specimens of Elizabeth's skittish coquetry may be found in Burghley's State-papers. Sometimes, knowing that this presumptuous lover was coming in, she 'ran out of hir bed to hir maydens and then went behynd the curteyn of hir bed.' 'At Hanworth, in the garden, he wrated (romped, or wrestled) with hir, and cut hir gowne in an hundred pieces (or places) beyng black clothes.' Mr. Ashley 'did fere that the Lady Elizabeth did ber some affection to the admiral; for sometyme she wolde blush if he were spoken of.'

[BURGHLEY'S PAPERS, BY HAINES.]

* Hist. of Reformation, vol. ii. p. 97, 98.

be supple) than the more open trial which Lord A.D. 1548.
Seymour loudly demanded. The crafty Warwick,
who meant the destruction of both the brothers,
pushed on the illegal measure.

This wicked and artful statesman, on whose deep machinations the fate of religion and government in England was soon brought to depend, merits particular notice. John Dudley, Lord Lisle and Earl of Warwick, was the most dangerous of men. He had been restored to those estates which his father (the notorious instrument of Henry the Seventh's oppression) had been deprived of deservedly, but not legally. At the battle of Musselburgh he distinguished his personal courage, and even determined the fortune of that important day. His talents were equally fitted for peace or war ; and he had been uniformly successful wherever employed. But he was insatiably avaricious, and his ambition knew no bounds. To sum up his character, he merited to be the son of Empson's colleague, and the father of Leicester, the future favourite of Elizabeth.

The month of March, in 1549, saw the con- 1549.
demnation of the Protector's ambitious brother. Some objections were brought against the method of his trial, in the lower house ; but a message which the young king was persuaded to send, smoothed every difficulty, and Lord Seymour lost his

A.D. 1549. his head on Tower-Hill.^[6] This severe measure Executed. sure it is very difficult to reconcile with the general irresolution and placability of Somerset's character. It must be imputed to the instigations of the artful Warwick, who dreaded the activity and spirit of the admiral's character, it was too much like his own.

Reformers persecute. The taste for persecution now reached the Reformers, and two wretched Anabaptists,* the inoffensive spawn of the Munster fanatics, perished at the stake in Smithfield. Edward was with difficulty

NOTES.

[6] The following lines, written by Sir John Harrington under a portrait of the admiral, speak more in his favor than any other document, and indeed seem to savour rather of blind amity than of discernment.

Of person rare, strong lymbes, and manly shape,
By nature fram'd to servē on sea or lande;
In friendship firme, in good state or ill hap,
In peace, head-wise; in war, great skill, bold hande.
On horse or foote, in peril or in plaike,
None could exceed, though many did assaie.
A subject true to Kynge, a servante grate,
Friend to God's truth, and foe to Rome's deceite.
Sumptuous abroade, for honour of the lande,
Temp'rate at home, yet kept great state with state,
And noble house, that fed more mouthes with meate
Than some advanc'd on higher steppes to stande.
Yet, against nature, reason, and just lawes,
His blood was spilt, guiltless, without just cause. J. H.

[HARRINGTON'S NUGÆ ANTIQUÆ.]

* Fox, vol. ii. p. 2. Burnet's Ref. vol. ii. p. 112.

culty persuaded by Archbishop Cranmer to sign A.D. 1549.
their condemnation.

This was a year of commotion throughout England. The poor complained with some reason of the rise of rents, of new inclosures for pasture, and of the decrease of agriculture. The monasteries which had supported the idle by ill-judged hospitality, now turned out numbers of indigent friars, who shared the work and the bread of the labourer. Calm reasoning quieted most of these risings. The men of Devon were more obstinate. They began with complaints of increasing pasturage, and they proceeded to a demand of their old religion. Humphry Arundel, a veteran soldier, Devon-governor of St. Michael's Mount, led ten thousand of them to the siege of Exeter,[7] and that loyal city was* but just relieved in time by the ter.

Lord

NOTES.

[7] The men of Exeter were forced to eat their horses, and make strange shifts for bread. A gallant old citizen encouraged them by declaring, ‘That he would eat one arm and fight with the other, ere he would agree to a surrender.’

[HAYWARD.]

Mrs. Frances Duffield, a young unmarried gentlewoman, struck the mayor over the face; on which he ordered the alarum-bell to be rung out, and a broil, dangerous to the city, ensued. After the siege, the priest of St. Thomas was hanged from the tower of his church in chains, with his full attire, his bell, his beads, and his holy-water bucket.

[HOLINGSHEA,

* Hayward, p. 295.

A. D. 1549. Lord Russel, who soon reduced the rebels to sub-
 Revolt in mission. A revolt in Oxfordshire was not quelled
 Norfolk. without bloodshed. But in Norfolk affairs wore
 a still more serious aspect: a tanner named Kett,
 and Coniers a seditious priest, supported by an
 absurd prophecy,[8] under the shade of a tree,
 which they styled the Oak of Reformation, gave
 out orders to 16,000 resolute clowns, in warlike
 array. Parr, marquis of Northampton, after some
 success against them, was put to the rout, and
 Lord Sheffield slain[9] by this hardy mob; but
 the active Earl of Warwick, at the head of 6000
 old troops, (some of them foreigners) quashed this
 tremendous rising, and the Oak of Reformation
 was hung round with the associates in rebellion.
 Some blood spilt in quelling a Yorkshire commo-
 tion was the last which this series of tumults de-
 manded; and an amnesty proclaimed by order of
 the

NOTES.

[8] The following lines composed the prophecy which led these hapless rustics to rebellion:

‘ The country knusss, Hob, Dick, and Hick, with clubs,
 and clouted shoon,

‘ Shall fill up Duffendale, with slaughtered bodies, soon.’

[IBID.]

[9] He fell into a ditch, and a butcher slew him with a club.

[DUGDALE.]

Mr. Walpole admits Lord Sheffield among his noble writers, on the credit of Anthony à Wood, who imputes to him a book of sonnets.

the humane Somerset, dropped the curtain on A.D. 1549.
each scene of slaughter.[10]

From the epoch of these numerous risings, we are to date the appointment of Lord Lieutenants to each county in the kingdom.*

And now the Protector himself was doomed to experience a cruel reverse of fortune. The old nobles hated him for his sudden rise, and still more for his having endeavoured to interfere on behalf of the oppressed poor. It was, indeed entirely to hear their complaints, and to relieve their distresses, that he had held ‘a Court of Requests’ in his own house. An illegal measure, which, when maliciously represented, spoke bitterly against him. Nor had it made him popular; his ill-judged and greedy attempts to demolish churches and chapels for the embellishment of his

NOTES.

[10] There was much cruelty used after the rebellion was quelled. Sir Anthony Kingston, the Provost-Marshal, went to dine with Boyer, mayor of Bodmyn, walked out with him to view the gallows, asked him if it were strong enough? and, on his answering in the affirmative, hanged him upon it. At another place, the servant of a rebellious miller appearing for his master, Sir Anthony made him be led to execution, not heeding his protestation of the deception: ‘For,’ said the taunting judge, ‘if it be as you say, can you do to your master a better service than to hang for him?’

[CAMDEN'S REMAINS.]

* Strype's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 178.

A.D. 1549. his palace had given universal disgust. At Westminster[11] the people had defended their temples by dint of blows. The ambitious Warwick headed the malcontents ; and Somerset, being accused of having proposed to deliver Boulogne to the French and of other misdemeanors, was sent to the Tower, while Warwick, at the head of a new council, obtained from the young and unexperienced Edward leave to govern the kingdom.*

1550. The extreme irresolution of Somerset having Confesses led him to confess every article brought against himself guilty and is releas- ed. him, to be true ; he was no longer an object of dread. His posts indeed were taken from him ; but he was released, was re-admitted to the council early in 1550, and a severe fine laid upon him was annulled.

Boulogne A peace which included Scotland, was now restored to France. settled with France. Boulogne was given up for a large sum of money :† and soon after a marriage between Edward VI. and Elizabeth of France was concluded

NOTES.

[11] In other places he was unhappily more successful, particularly in the demolition of St. Mary's church, and of a fine chapel connected with St. Paul's. [WEAVER BURNET.]

These, with the materials of the episcopal palaces belonging to Worcester, Litchfield, and Llandaff, formed the sacrilegious mass called Somerset House ; which, toward the close of the 18th century, gave way to the Royal Academy.

* King Edward's Journal, p. 9.

† Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 214.

concluded on,* but this unpopular project never took effect. ^{A.D. 1550.}

Even the hardened Warwick had felt shame at proposing the cession of Boulogne, a circumstance which he had urged as treason against Somerset. He feigned sickness, and endeavoured to avoid setting his name to the treaty. The peace was, however, absolutely necessary; and the government was so weak, and the people so tumultuous in England, that no tax to carry on a war could with safety have been levied. The tribute paid for so many years by France to England, under various names and pretences, was abandoned by this treaty, at least for a time. As the young king's zeal for the Reformation rose nearly to bigotry, Warwick, to gain his favour, treated the Roman Catholic prelates with some degree of harshness, ejecting even those who were willing to be silent on points of controversy. Gardiner, ^{Catholic bishops} Day, Heath, and Voysey, lost their sees, which were ejected. ^{Roman} Day, Heath, and Voysey, lost their sees, which were instantly filled by active reformers.

To please the people, Warwick now began a strict inquiry concerning those who had mismanaged the royal revenues, and fined them without mercy, although many of the defaulters were his own partizans. The Lord Arundel, in particular, was amerced 12,000l. Sir John Thynne Great of-
ficers fined. 6,000l. and four others 3,000l. each. +

It

* Hayward, p. 318.

+ Hist. of Refor. vol. ii. p. 149.

A.D. 1550. It is generally believed, that few periods in England have produced more murthers, [12] and other atrocious crimes, than that we now treat of. Warwick, conscious of the trembling ground on which he stood, dreaded, by any exertion of the powers of Government, to give some pretence for his numerous foes to rise and destroy his authority and himself.

The

NOTES.

[12] Sir Peter Gamboa, and Filicirga, two distinguished foreign officers, were, about this time, murthered near St. Sepulchre's church, by Carlo Gavaro, and three other Spaniards, who were soon after executed on a gallows in Smithfield; Carlo having his right hand first stricken off, on the wheel of the cart which conveyed him. Holingshed records also a more complicated assassination, perpetrated at Faversham, in Kent, on a gentleman named Arden. He had a handsome wife, who was unfortunately attached to an inferior, one Mosby; by his persuasions, she was seduced to join in the plot against her spouse. The design failed many times, by strange and almost præternatural incidents. At length, by the help of two disbanded soldiers, 'Black Will, and George Shakebag,' it was completed. Such was the cool blood of the wife, that she made an entertainment 'for two Londoners,' and made 'hir daughter to plaie on the virginalls' to them, while the mangled corpse of Arden was carrying out of her house. This wicked woman, and most of the criminals, were deservedly put to death; and one innocent man, Bradshaw, having unknowingly delivered a note relative to the murther, was unhappily involved in their punishment. The tale, as delivered by Holingshed at full length, is so affecting and interesting, that it has produced two tragedies, one of them by Lillo.

The Princess Mary, whose adherence to the ^{A. D. 1551.} old religion could not be shaken, having had her chaplains imprisoned, and her faith weakly assaulted by a letter from the council, couched in disgusting language, endeavoured to escape to her kinsman the Emperor.* She was prevented; but the remonstrances of Charles procured for her a more tender treatment.

And now Warwick (newly created Duke of Warwick Northumberland, and possessed of the vast northern estates of the Piercy family) pursued with ^{made Duke of Nor-} zeal, his darling project, for excluding both the ^{thumber-} sisters of Edward from the throne, and for introducing a son of his own, whom he meant to wed ^{Plan in favor of} the Lady Jane Gray, grand-daughter to Mary, ^{Lady Jane} Queen of France.^[13] Humbled to the dust as Gray. Somerset had been, he might still be an obstacle to this criminal plan. A spy (Sir Thomas Palmer) had been set on his actions and his words; he was charged with a design to slay Northumberland, to proclaim himself king,† and with other treasonable intentions; and, with several of his most intimate friends, was sent a second time to the Tower.

Some

NOTES.

[13] She was the daughter of the Marquis of Dorset, now created Duke of Suffolk, on the death of the two heirs of Brandon; both of these had been carried off by the Sweating sickness.

* Hayward, p. 315.

+ Ibid. p. 320.

A. D. 1551. Some attention was paid, about this period, to the much-neglected commerce of England. An advantageous treaty was concluded with Sweden, and some alteration made in the privileges of the Steel-yard company ; by which natives were encouraged to enter into the mercantile line, and to trade in English bottoms. Useful and ingenious foreigners were successfully invited to the shores of Britain, and the circumstances of the day were singularly favorable to this humane and politic system ; for the disputes on the continent about religion, had driven from their homes several small colonies of manufacturers, who met at this period with protection and encouragement in England. A whole industrious congregation migrated from the continent with their teacher, John Alasco, a Pole of considerable distinction.* Bucer, Peter Martyr, and other men of science, sought also the protection of Edward.

1552. Early in 1552, the fate of Somerset was determined. Acquitted of treason, he was condemned by a cruel statute† of Henry VII. which makes it felony to imagine the death of a privy-counsellor. The people who now knew his value, and the profligacy of his rival, wept loudly at his execution. The late Protector fell with singular calmness. His fortitude was severely tried a few minutes before his death. A loud and rushing noise

* Rym. Fœd. lib. xv. p. 170, 192, 193.

† Stowe, p. 606.

noise was heard, and the people observing an ^{A.D. 1559.} officer of the court approaching, shouted with one voice, A pardon! But the duke waving his cap, entreated them to be silent and respectful. Soon after the catastrophe of Somerset, there were led to execution four knights, his most intimate friends, Partridge, Stanhope, Arundel, and Vane. The last was a veteran officer, who had distinguished his bravery at Musselburgh and on other services. He met death with firmness, (as did his comrades) but remarked sternly, ‘that time was, when he was held in some esteem ; but that now, the brave man and the coward were treated alike.’

[14]

The Parliament, which had sat during the whole of Edward’s reign, was now dissolved, as not pliant enough to the humors of Northumberland.* It had refused to pass a bill against treasons, without insisting on the necessity of there

c 2

being

NOTES.

[14] The malice of Warwick spared none of Somerset’s friends. The Lord Rich was dismissed from the Treasury, and Sir William Paget degraded from the order of the Garter, ‘because of his low extraction,’ besides being amerced 6,000L. [STOWE.]

He was restored by Mary, in the first year of her reign, to all his honours. [COLLINS.]

Others to whom Somerset had given grants of Chantry lands, &c. were obliged to yield the estates up to the king.

* Hist. of Reformation, vol. ii. p. 190.

A.D. 1552. being two witnesses ; nor would it agree to deprive the decent and modest Tonstall, unheard, of his see. These scruples were new and uncommon ; the lords had none of them.

A new parliament corrupt and pliable. The most gross court-influence was used in convening the new senate ; [15] and nothing, interrupt and deed, could exceed its docility. It granted two subsidies, and two fifteenths, and divided the see of Durham (whence Bishop Tonstall had been arbitrarily ejected^{*}) into two districts, at the desire of the court, leaving to the Duke of Northumberland the palatinate of the county.

The sum of the king's debts being now risen to the amount of 251,179l. sterling, a part of the forfeited Chantry lands were directed to be sold by commissioners, in order to pay the creditors.

1553. And now a sanguine cloud prepared to overcast the horizon of England. Edward, whose good sense and virtue seemed to promise to his people a redress of those evils which his minority had occasioned, began visibly to droop. An ill-cured small-pox[†] had left a complaint on his lungs,

NOTES.

[15] There are in Strype's collections letters from the king, recommending Sir Richard Cotton to Hants, Sir William Fitzwilliams, and Sir Henry Nevil, to Berks, &c. &c.

[ECCLES : MEMORIALS.]

* Parl. Journal. Strype, vol. ii. p. 367.

† King Edward's Journal, p. 49.

lungs, which had brought on a fatal consumptive disorder. He knew his danger, but felt no anguish except for his people; whose newly-established form of religion, he was conscious, would be utterly overturned by the next heir, the Lady Mary; whose attachment to the Roman Catholic faith had been nourished by an indelicate, harsh opposition.

The artful Northumberland taking advantage of this turn in the King's mind, found means to persuade him, that he might exclude Mary from the throne, provided that Elizabeth, who lay under the same charge of illegitimacy, was also set aside.

Edward loved the Lady Elizabeth, whom he used affectionately to style, 'his sweet sister Temperance'; but his extreme zeal for the Reformation overpowered the dictates of fraternal love and of justice; and he directed a patent to be drawn up, which might settle the succession of the crown* on Lady Jane Gray; who had been just married to Lord Guildford Dudley, a younger son of Northumberland, and to whom her mother the Duchess of Suffolk, daughter to Mary of France, had formally resigned her own prior right.

At first the judges refused to be concerned in this iniquitous transaction; but the entreaties of the dying King, and the menaces of his impetuous minister, Northumberland, prevailed on them

* Holingshed, p. 1083.

A. D. 1553.
The king falls ill.

Sets aside
Mary and
Eliza-
beth.

A.D. 1553. them all, (except Sir James Hales) and on all the council, to sign the deed ; Cranmer, however, afterwards called on the judges* to witness his reluctance and opposition. Instantly almost, the state of Edward's health grew worse. A female empiric was then trusted to prescribe ;[16] but, as his sickness encreased under her care, she was dismissed, and the physicians retook their station. They however could do him no farther service,
He dies. and on the 6th of July, 1553, this amiable prince expired in the sixteenth year of his age.

His character. The accomplishments of Edward were greatly beyond his years. Besides being master of several languages, he understood theology, music, and natural philosophy ; and the celebrated Jerome Card n, who had an opportunity of conversing with him, bears a noble and public testimony to his literary merit.[17] A letter from Dr. Cox,

one

 NOTES.

[16] She had been recommended by the Dudley family ; and the king's pains encreasing by her medicines, great suspicions were entertained as to her patrons, especially as it had been observed that his health had visibly declined ever since the Lord Robert Dudley had been near his person.

[BURNET, STRYPE.]

[17] A few days before his death, Edward completed the endowment of Christ's, St. Thomas's, and Bridewell hospitals, with 600l. per annum from the Savoy. [HOLINGSHED.]

The cost of his houshold was, the 1st year, 49,187l.—2d. 46,902l.—3d, 46,100l.—4th, 100,578l.—5th, 62,863l.—6th 65,923l. [STRYPE.]

* Hist. of Reformation, vol. ii. p. 257.

one of Edward's tutors, is also still extant; in A.D. 1533.
which he quaintly avers, that the King 'discover-
' ed great towardness and all honest qualities; that
' he should be taken as a singular gift of God;
' that he read Cato, Vives, and *Æsop*, and that
' he conned very pleasantly.' What Erasmus
writes of this amiable prince, appears to be an
elegant and easy way of saying nothing more than
what any discreet lad might have claimed. 'Senex,
' juvenis convictu, factus sum melior; ac, so-
' brietatem, temperentiam, verecundiam, linguæ
' moderationem, modestiam, pudicitiam, integri-
' tatem, quam juvenis a sene discere debuerat, a
' juvene senex didici.'

A journal written by the pen of the young King,
and transcribed by Bishop Burnet, exhibits a clear
proof of his sense, knowledge, and goodness. Be-
sides this, several small treatises in his own hand,
on subjects political and controversial, are extant;
and Holland says, that he wrote a play, entitled,
'The Whore of Babylon,' the non-existence of
which Mr. Walpole laments not.

Notwithstanding the attainments and excellent
disposition of Edward, it must have been observed,
that the people were unhappy, oppressed, and in
consequence turbulent, during the whole of his
short reign. Yet to the sovereign himself none
of these evils should be imputed. His affection-
ate duty to his maternal uncles, and his attach-
ment to the plausible Warwick, blinded his eyes
to

A.D. 1553. to their successive failings ; while the narrowness of thinking as to religious matters, which in the 16th century every party had adopted, had clouded his mind with a shade of bigotry ; which, however, as well as his want of resolution, had Providence granted him a longer life, must have been soon cleared away by the benignity of his disposition, and the brightness of his intellects.

Every step was now taken by the deceased king's ministry to seize the princesses, and fix the crown on the fair usurper's head ; and the ladies Mary and Elizabeth were actually on the road to the court, allured thither by a feigned message from the king, when the news of his approaching end gave them warning of the deceit ;* and Mary, flying to Suffolk, found every one eager to arm in her cause. The detestation, indeed, in which the Duke of Northumberland was held, rendered every project in favor of his family fruitless ; and the unfortunate, though amiable Jane, Gray crowned. who after a sincere resistance,† had been hardly prevailed on by her father and husband to accept the crown,[18] resigned it with real and unaffected

NOTES.

[18] At the proclamation of Jane, no joy had been shewn by the people, and Gilbert Post, a vintner's lad, lost his ears, for disrespectful words concerning the innocent usurper. His master and others, returning from seeing his punishment in the Tower, were drowned, passing under London Bridge. [HOLINGSHED.]

* Hist. of Reform. vol. ii. p. 233. + Ibid. p. 234.

fected pleasure, after a joyless reign of ten days. ^{A.D. 1553.}
 Mary, at the head of a numerous troop, (1000 of which had been levied by the Lady Elizabeth) entered London, and ascended the throne. Nor did the mean conduct of Northumberland save his life; although, on finding himself deserted by his army, he had cast up his cap for Mary, and had fallen on his knees* to the Lord Arundel, who apprehended him; while at that humiliating moment, a woman held up to the dastardly suppliant's face a handkerchief, dipped, as she said, in the innocent blood of Somerset, whom he had murthered.

He was tried and condemned by his Peers for treason, and beheaded on Tower-hill, [19] with Palmer and Gates, his intimate associates; ^{thunder-land be-headed.} consistent to the last in inconsistency, his last words declared him to be, and ever to have been, a Roman Catholic.[†]

As Mary wished to acquire popularity, [20] she shed no more blood on the present occasion:

the

NOTES.

[19] ‘The executioner,’ writes a French priest, who was an eye witness, ‘wore a white apron, like a butcher; and there you might see,’ he adds, ‘little children gathering up the blood which had fallen through the slits of the scaffold.’

VOYAGES DE PERLIN.

[20] It may be worth observing, that Mary rode through the city of London in pomp, crowned by a circle of gold and precious

* Strype, vol. iii. p. 13. Stowe, p. 612.

† Hist. of Reformation, vol. ii. p. 243.

A.D. 1553. the Lady Jane, together with her husband, and his brothers, were indeed tried and condemned for treason, but their sentences were respite.

After the new Queen had released the venerable Norfolk, and the other prisoners in the Tower, she wished to celebrate the funeral obsequies of her brother with the ceremonies of the Papal church; but Cranmer, meek as he was by nature, stoutly opposed this innovation, and sheltering himself under acts of Parliament still in force, he interred the remains of Edward in the chapel of Henry VII. after the rites of the reformed church. If he officiated in person, it was probably his last act of office, as he was almost immediately confined to his house and treated as a criminal. Mary had a service performed for her deceased brother in her own chapel.*

And

NOTES.

precious stones, so heavy, that she was forced to support her head with her hand, and that behind her there came in a chariot ‘the Ladie Elizabeth and the Ladie Anne of Cleves.’

[HOLINGSHED.]

Prodigies were not wanting to grace the accession of the ill-favored sovereign; for we are also told by Holingshed, ‘a compleat double female child was born at Midlenton near Oxford, and lived 18 days; and that at Queenborow three, and at Blackwall six huge Dolphins’ (or more probably Porpoises) ‘were taken at this period. The least was bigger than any horse.’ Far more ominous was the loss of the Great Harry, a royal ship of war, vast in its bulk, which was burnt by accident at Woolwich.

* Holingshed, p. 1089.

And now the natural bigotry of Mary took its ^{A.D. 1553.} full scope. A Parliament was formed which would second her in any measure, except the restoration of church-lands. The Protestant Bishops were ejected and imprisoned ; their sees filled with zealous Catholics, and Cardinal de la Pole was sent for hastily to assist as Nuncio, in cleansing the polluted land. But the policy of Gardiner, who suspected that the Queen meant Pole for her husband, or at least for her primate, found means to check the too impetuous zeal of Mary, by the intervention of the Emperor.*

The Queen at this time tried to please the people by remitting the subsidy granted to Edward, but not levied. The acts of her Parliament were not in general popular. Her own illegitimacy was reversed, but that of Elizabeth was ungrate-fully confirmed ; and Mary, by assigning to her fairer sister a low rank, even beneath the countesses, drove from the court one who had already been her successful rival. Religion was placed on the footing of the last part of Henry VIII's reign, and all preaching, except by licence, stopped. The Protestants were now severely treated, their favorite preachers imprisoned, and even the men of Suffolk, to whose early loyalty Mary owed her crown, were brow-beaten, and one of them pilloried † for demanding that liberty of conscience, with

* Hist. of Reformation, vol. ii. p. 242.

† Strype, vol. iii. p. 52.

A.D. 1553. with the promise of which she had engaged their assistance.

1554. Mary now received with pleasure the overtures made by her cousin, Charles V. for a match between her and his son Philip, a handsome prince, ten years younger than herself. The nation however, saw the proposal in a light so different, that a dangerous revolt ensued, headed by Sir Thomas Wiat, a kentish knight; who, although a steady Roman Catholic,* had imbibed, by travelling in Spain,† an utter detestation of that country's severe manners. Followed by a strong party he marched from Rochester to London; having been joined on the road by a band of citizens, at the head of whom that venerable warrior, [21] the Duke of Norfolk, (now relieved from his attainder) meant to have opposed him.‡ Wiat, however, finding the bridge of the metropolis well

defended,

NOTES.

[21] This gallant veteran died a few months after, possessed of more than fifty manors, besides hundreds, rectories, sites of abbeys, &c. ‘Good and stately gear,’ indeed, as he justly called them, when he entreated Henry VIII. ‘not to scatter them among his courtiers, but to settle them on the Prince of Wales:’ knowing that if they were not dispersed, his family might have a chance of regaining them by favor of some future prince. Norfolk had lived about eighty-seven years and under eight sovereigns.

[COLLINS'S PEERAGE.

Holinshed, p. 1104. † Hist. of Reform. vol. ii. p. 224.

‡ Godwin, p. 341.

defended, lost so much time in marching round by Kingston, and in repairing the broken carriages of his artillery, that when he entered London through Hyde-Park (which was then the western avenue) a strong force had been collected by which he was overpowered and taken. He expiated his fault on Tower-hill, where he solemnly avowed the innocence of the Lady Elizabeth and of Courtney, who both had been charged as favoring his revolt. [22] Much blood was shed on this occasion. Suffolk,* with the Lady Jane [23] Lady J.
Gray be-
headed. and her husband, were beheaded; and the Lord headed. Thomas Gray, a tried and gallant commander, with

NOTES.

[22] Neither this declaration, nor the protestation of the poor princess, who prayed ‘that God might confound her eternally if she were guilty,’ could save her from being dragged from her bed, though really sick, and sent to the Tower through Traitor’s-gate. She made some resistance against passing through that ominous desile, but in vain. Soon after she asked, with visible anxiety, ‘whether Lady Jane Gray’s scaffold was yet taken down?’

[CAMDEN, HOLINGSHED.]

[23] After her husband had been beheaded, Gates, the Lieutenant of the Tower, asking her for some token of remembrance, she gave him her pocket-book with three sentences, one in Greek, one in Latin, and one in English, which she had written on seeing the headless trunk pass beneath her window. The purport was meek and forgiving.

[HEVELYN.]

* Stowe, p. 624.

A. D. 1554. with hundreds of inferior rank, suffered death in the same cause. The unfortunate Jane was highly accomplished, and well versed in the antient as well as the modern tongues. To her last moments she lamented her having accepted the crown ; laid the blame on her own blind, filial affection ; and told the people from the scaffold that she suffered deservedly, since her innocence was no excuse for the trouble which she had occasioned to the realm. She would not see her husband, lest the interview should be too affecting ; and, with inimitable meekness, thanked Dr. Fecknam with her last words, for the pains he had ineffectually taken in endeavouring to convert her to his own faith. She was only sixteen years of age when she suffered.

Mary now gave orders, that the church should be purged of all married priests, and some thousands of the clergy, in consequence, lost their benefices.

Prince
Philip of
Spain
weds
Queen
Mary.

In July, 1554, Prince Philip of Spain arrived at Southampton. Displeased, perhaps at the stern commander of his convoy, (who had fired at the Spanish ships to make them salute the English flag) he landed with his sword drawn, and made no return to the compliments which attended his approach to the town. The English were disgusted by a continuation of this impolitic conduct, but Mary made up by her fondness for the indifference of her subjects. The articles of the union had been drawn with proper caution ; and

Philip

Philip gained little by the wedding (which was A.D. 1554.
celebrated at Westminster,) except a homely, ill-tempered, jealous wife. The gold which he brought with him (which filled twenty-seven chests, besides ninety-nine horse-loads and two cart-loads of coin) smoothed his way ; and he gained some credit with the English by interfering with Mary in behalf of her sister Elizabeth, of Courtney, Dudley, Harrington, and others who were confined, and in great danger.*

A conference on religion held at Oxford having Confer- ended, as the Roman Catholics declared, in favor rence at of the old faith, Mary (who now gave it out that Mary Oxford. she was pregnant†) no longer deferred the solemn supposed re-union of England to the Holy See, and with pregnant. sincere transport quitted that heretical title, ‘The Supreme Head of the Church ;’ and was so much affected at the speech which Cardinal Pole made on this occasion before both Houses of Parlia- men, that ‘she felt the child stir in her womb.’

[24]

A scene

NOTES.

[24] Instantly the Roman Catholics affirmed that it would be a male ; and Bonner, Bishop of London, ordered prayers throughout his diocese, ‘that he might be beautiful, vigorous, and witty.’

The priest of Aldersgate went farther, and by a spirit of prophecy, described the sex and features of the embryo.

* Holingshed, p. 1129. Stowe, p. 626.

† Holingshed, p. 1123, 1126.

A.D. 1555. A scene of the most bloody persecution now came forward. The Parliament had revived the most sanguinary laws against heretics, and the mild system of Pole gave way to the atrocious counsels of Gardiner. Rogers, the most popular of Protestant preachers, led the way to the stake. Hooper, late Bishop of Gloucester, followed; nor were the horrors of bigotry long checked even by the declaration of Alphonso, Almoner to Philip, who, before the council, bitterly reproached the English Bishops for their impolitic humanity.

The Bishops Hooper, Ferrar, Ridley, and Latimer burnt. After a very slight pause, the persecution raged with more fury than ever. Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, was burnt in his own diocese; and the venerable Latimer, with Ridley, late bishop of London suffered the same cruel death at Oxford.* The fate of Gardiner, who was awfully struck† with death while exulting in the tortures of the last-mentioned sufferer, did no service

NOTES.

On the Protestant side, all kind of suspicions were encouraged against the actual pregnancy of Mary. There was even a report, that an enquiry had been made in a mysterious manner after a new-born infant.

[Fox, BURNET'S REFORMATION.]

The following pasquinade was posted on the palace gate:

‘ Serons nous si betes; O nobles Anglois! Que de croire notre reyne enceinte? Et de quoi le seroit elle, si non d'un marmot, ou d'un dogue?’ [EMBASSADES DE NOAILLES.]

* Fox, vol. iii. Godwin, p. 349.

† Fox, vol. iii. Godwin, p. 351.

vice to the cause of humanity. Bonner, who succeeded him in carrying on the infernal work, added brutal buffoonery to the most refined cruelty. Yet, even he, fatigued with the work of blood, was sometimes reprimanded for indolence.*

A.D. 1555.

To finish at once this disgraceful and detestable subject, during the three remaining years of Mary's ill-starred reign, there perished at the stake two hundred and seventy-seven persons; among whom were reckoned, five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, fifty-five women, and four children. The temper of Mary grew more turbid from repeated disappointments. That pregnancy on which both she and Philip so much depended, closed in worse than nothing; the spouse on whom she so fondly doated left her, with cool, contemptuous indifference,[25] and sailed to Spain; and even her packed senate, when

she

NOTES.

[25] After the departure of Philip, the neglected queen spent her days in solitude, and her nights in sighs and tears. She wrote perpetual letters to her wanderer, to which he seldom vouchsafed any answer. [NOAILLES.]

The only part of government to which she attended, was that of extorting from her people illegal loans, and arbitrarily taxing the goods of English and of foreign merchants.

[BURNET, COWPER, CARTE, &c.]

* Burnet, vol ii. p. 335.

In

A.D. 1555. she wanted money to gratify her fugitive, reproached her for having given back to the church those domains* which ought to have supplied her with what she now demanded. In this they referred

NOTES.

In one of her epistles, she professes herself more bounden to Philip, than any other wife to her husband, notwithstanding his ill-treatment of her: ‘Dont,’ says she, ‘j’ay commencée desja, de taster trop, a mon grand regret.’ [STRYPE.]

Mary, however, sometimes did shew a degree of spirit; as once, when in a fit of rage or jealousy, she tore in pieces the portrait of this adored husband. [LIFE OF SIR T. POPE.]

Another time she was highly incensed at an engraving which represented her shrivelled, wrinkled, and lean, with many Spaniards hanging on her, and sucking her to the bone.

[IBID.]

Philip was certainly a very handsome man; and Elizabeth, who was a good judge, although she refused his addresses, kept his picture always by her bed-side. [BALLARD’S MEM.]

The person of the Spanish prince is thus described by John Elder: ‘Of visage he is well-favored, with a broad forehead and grey eyes, streight nosed, and a manly countenance. From the forehead to the chin his face groweth small, his pace is princely, &c.; he is so well proportioned of bodi, arme, legge, and every other limme to the same, as nature cannot worke a more parfit paterne,’ &c. &c.

[GRAINGER.]

Philip wedded Mary with a view to rule in England, and when the Queen was supposed to be pregnant, he applied to Parliament that he might be Regent during the minority

* Stowe, p. 627.

red to her having, through dread of papal excommunication, given up to the church the first-fruits, and all the church-lands vested in the crown. She now exerted herself in discovering and finding such as had shared the moveables, books, &c. of monasteries, and by her orders, towards the close of 1555, Archbishop Cranmer was tried by three commissioners for heresy, and condemned to be degraded, and to be burnt alive.

Arch-
bishop
Cranmer
tried and
condemn-

It was at this awful period that the frailty of ed. human nature, and the importunity of English and foreign divines, persuaded Archbishop Cranmer to forsake that religion, of which he had hitherto been the chief support.* His apostacy was short. Mary, who detested him for his share in her mother's divorce, not choosing to lose her revenge, privately ordered his execution. But

1556.

He re-
cants, but
repents,
and is
burned.

D 2

Cranmer

NOTES.

riaty of any child which might appear, offering to give bond to surrender the government to such child when of age to rule. The debate grew warm, but Lord Paget asking, ‘ who should sue the King’s bond !’ the whole was suddenly concluded in the negative.

[HOWELL’S LETTERS.]

Once Philip wished to have united Elizabeth to Philibert of Savoy, but Mary and her sister both disliked the scheme; and when he sent the Duchesses of Parma and Lorrain to fetch the Princess to Flanders, the Queen would not permit them to visit her at Hatfield. The latter of these ladies was supposed to be the favorite mistress of Philip.

[CARTE.]

* Strype, vol. iii. p. 233.

A.D. 1556. Cranmer had already repented of his weakness, and when he was brought to church to abjure Protestantism publicly, he disappointed the auditors by bemoaning his own folly, and affirming his determination to die in his former opinions. At the stake, to which he soon was conducted, he held that hand which had signed his recantation in the flame until it was utterly consumed, crying incessantly, ‘it was *this* hand which offended.’ Cardinal Pole succeeded Cranmer in the see of Canterbury.

Cardinal
Pole be-
comes
Primate.

Meanwhile the fires at Smithfield blazed fiercely for inferior heretics, and the zealous Mary was only prevented from burning larger numbers of her subjects by the remissness of the county magistrates, whom the council were forced perpetually to remind of their duty.

The Lady Elizabeth, during the heat of persecution, was in no pleasant state.[26] Since her release

NOTES.

[26] Being once urged to explain her sentiments concerning the real presence, she happily thus expressed herself extempore:

- ‘ Christ was the word that spake it,
- ‘ He took the bread and brake it,
- ‘ And what the word did make it,
- ‘ I do believe and take it.’

She was, however, obliged to hear mass and submit to confession.

[BAKER'S CHRON.]

release from the Tower, she had been in such ^{A.D. 1556.}
ill-omened custody, that she had often reason to
think her life in danger. Once Gardiner had
actually procured a warrant for her death, signed
by some of the privy-council; but the Queen,
being told of it, was obliged to forbid the execu-
tion.

At Woodstock she was perpetually teased by The Lady Gardiner, to own her misdoings towards Mary, ^{Elizabeth} severely all which she steadily denied. Philip, (as is be- treated, lieved) at length obtained leave for her to live at Hatfield; and even there she had to her know- ledge, in her own household, two spies upon her conduct.* To calm the anxiety which such situa- tions must occasion, the princess had recourse to literature, and soothed her fears by perusing the elegant productions of the antients in their native tongues.[27]

During

NOTES.

[27] The muse, too, condescended to soften her cares; although the following lines, written, (as we are assured by Paul Hentzner) with charcoal on a window-shutter at Wood- stock, breathe a stern spirit of revenge, mingled with much phi- losophy:

Oh fortune! how thy restless wavering state
Has fraught with cares my troubled wit!
Witness this present prison, whither fate
Has borne me, and the joys I quit.

Thou

* Godwin, p. 349.

A. D. 1556. During this period, the weakness and bigotry of the government, its want of money, and unwillingness to exasperate by taxation a people who detested its measures, rendered the state of England contemptible in the eyes of foreign nations. A war with Scotland was with difficulty avoided, by the firmness of the Lords Shrewsbury and Wharton; who, with a small force, ill-paid, kept the borderers, (who began every war) in peace with each other.

The extreme discontent of the people occasioned more than one rising in various parts of England. One of these at Dis, in Norfolk, though trifling in itself, and headed only by a poor schoolmaster named Cleber, occasioned several

NOTES.

Thou causedest the guilty to be loosed
From bands, wherein are innocents inclosed.
Causing the guiltless to be* strait reserved,
And freeing those that death had well-deserved,
But by her envy nothing can be wrought;
So God send to my foes all they have thought !

A. D. MDLV.

ELIZABETH, *Prisoner.*

A part of the palace of Woodstock, above mentioned, was standing in the reign of Anne, and Sir John Vanbrugh had taste enough to spend 2000l. in supporting the ruins. But the Lord Godolphin not liking the view of them from Blenheim, the Duchess of Marlborough made them be taken down.

[LIFE OF SIR T. POPE.]

* Severely confined.

veral persons to suffer the death of traitors at ^{A.D. 1556.}
Bury, in Suffolk. [28]

It was not until 1557 that Philip deigned to visit his neglected spouse; but, more actuated by interest than love, he made her declaration of war against France the price of all future endearments.

Mary could hardly have brought this about, since the marriage articles, drawn by the cautious Gardiner, expressly guarded against this contingency,* had not an insurrection in the north, under one Stafford, given her a pretence to accuse the French councils of disturbing the peace of her realm. This ill-advised revolter, with a few ^{War with} French adventurers, (who forsook him at the first onset) pompously proposed himself as Protector of England against the Spaniards. He was seized in Scarborough by the Lord Westmoreland, brought to London, and with three accomplices executed.

To raise money from a turbulent people, to a weak queen and a timid ministry, was no easy task;

NOTES.

[28] In the British Museum is a MS entitled, ‘ How one Cleber, in 1556, proclaimed the Ladie Elizabet' Quene, and her beloved bed-fellow, Lord Edward Courtneye, Kynge.’

[LIFE OF SIR T. POPE.]

* Rym. Fœd. vol. xv. p. 337, 393, 403.

A.D. 1557. task; and various were the expedients to which recourse was had by Mary. One time she forced sixty gentlemen to lend her one thousand pounds a-piece.[29] They did it; but with such difficulty, that they were forced to retrench and lessen the number of their servants. The discharged domestics taking to robbery for their subsistence, the considerate queen forced their masters by a proclamation

NOTES.

[29] As these severities fell chiefly on the Protestant families, the Roman Catholics presumed much on their favour at court, but sometimes presumed too far, as in the case of the Lord Stourton, a Roman Catholic Baron of Wilts, who on this principle, had bitterly oppressed his neighbour, a gentleman named Hartgill. The council-book of Edward's reign had been full of their quarrels. Once Stourton, in consequence of this broil, had opposed the Sheriff and the *posse comitatus*. At length, 1557, trusting to his interest with the council of Mary, he nearly murthered the younger Hartgill, who was on a reconciliatory visit at his house. Being fined and imprisoned for this attempt, he got leave to return to Wilts, that he might pay the fine to the Hartgills. He then decoyed the whole family into Kilmington church-yard, where he made his servants bind the father and son, and carry them by force to his house at Stourhead, after having wounded the wife of the younger Hartgill, who implored for her husband on her knees. When he had them in his house, he made them be beaten with clubs, and then held the candle while his servants cut their throats. No interest could protect the Lord Stourton after this execrable act. He was tried, found guilty, and hanged in the market-place of Salisbury, as were his four servants at Stourhead.

[HOLINGSHED, GENT. MAG. 1760, &c.]

proclamation to receive them again. Besides ^{A.D. 1557.} using these forcible loans, the conscientious Mary, another time, seized the corn of Suffolk and Norfolk for the use of her fleet and army, without repaying the owners.

With sums thus acquired by extortions little short of robberies, she levied a body of 8000 men, whom she sent under the Lord Pembroke to join the army of Philip in Flanders, where they arrived in time to share in the honor of the battle fought at St. Quintin. Meanwhile Mary fought the battles of bigotry at home ; and forming an ecclesiastical council of twenty-one, which had as near a resemblance to the Inquisition as she dared to give it, she placed spies on the country justices, summoned them to appear in London, and harrassed them into measures which afforded new fuel for the Smithfield fires.

A severe disgrace now impended over England. ^{1558.} Calais, which she had held two hundred years, and had been *eleven* months in subduing, was lost the in almost as few *days*. Archbishop Heath was chancellor and minister ; and his royal mistress and himself thought more of burning heretics, than of securing the possessions of the crown. Calais, therefore, and its dependencies, destitute of men, money, and stores, fell easily to a spirited attack, commanded by the great Duke of Guise, and seconded by the brother of the equally great

Calais re-taken by the French.

A.D. 1558. great Admiral de Coligny.[30] This fortress, of more consequence to the honor than the profit of the English nation, had been long menaced, and Philip of Spain had given notice of its danger to the improvident Mary. She, however, took no attention to the preservation of so interesting a post, but permitted a large part of the garrison,* as had been usual, from motives of an ill-judged parsimony, to quit the duty during the winter-months.[31] Lord Gray, the governor, a man of honor, in vain

NOTES.

[30] Francis, brother to Gaspar, the celebrated head of the French Protestants, was in a high post in the French army; yet, when his king demanded an explanation of his sentiments as to religion, he had the firmness to answer: ‘I must not dissemble on a point of such importance. Your majesty may dispose of my life, my goods, and my employments, but my Creator alone can control my belief. In a word, I would choose death rather than the mass.’ These bold expressions cost him his favour at court.

[LE LABOUREUR, ANQUETIL.]

[31] There were traitors within the town. Fontenay, Lord of Britteville, who in 1545 took refuge in Calais because he had slain a man, is named as one. [ANT. DE. CAEN.]

Mary, unfeeling as she was, felt this disgrace, and said, ‘that when she should die, Calais would be found engraven on her heart.’ [GODWIN, &c.]

The French turned all the inhabitants out of the place after plundering them. A number of Scots who served on the side of France behaved with great kindness to the distressed

* Stowe, p. 632.

vain presaged* the fatal consequence of this A.D. 1558.
neglect. Mary's ecclesiastical ministers mock-
ed his fears, and said that, during winter,
their

NOTES.

tressed English. The exultation of the French must have been great, for Holingshed says, 'Now were he worthie of a kingdome, that could sensiblie and significantlie set foorth the insolent triumphs and immoderate rejoisings of the French, for the recovery of Calais,' &c. Beneath is a specimen of a poetical ovation, by way of dialogue between a Messenger and a Traveller :

Nuncius. Clamate Galli, nunc ter Io ! Io !

Viator. Quæ lœta Gallis instat ovatio ?

M. Capti Caletes. *V.* Multa paucis
Digna novo memoras triumpho.

M. Vicêre Galli, sed duci Guisio,

V. Io triumphe ! nunc ter, Io ! Io !

M. Vicêre victores Britannos.

Annos ducentos, serva Britanniæ

Urbs liberata est. *V.* Nunc ter, Io ! Io !

M. Migrate nunc prisci coloni, &c.

Imitated.

Messenger. Huzza ! my lads of France, huzza !

Traveller. And why so joyous, friend, I pray ?

M. Calais is ours ! *Tr.* Ay, that's a saying
Enough to set us all huzzaining.

M. The French have conquer'd. Hail the Guise, }
'Tis he has gained this glorious prize. }

Tr. With loud huzzas we'll rend the skies. }

M. The Britons, erst our conquerors, he
Has baffled—Calais now is free.

Calais

* Stowe, p. 638. Holingshed, p. 1136.

A.D. 1558. their white staves would be garrison enough to defend the place.

A Parliament now met, and though in a very ill-humor, granted to Mary a supply, which enabled her to send a fleet under the Lord Clinton which ravaged part of the French coast, with little advantage or honor. Ten English ships of war were more fortunate.* Hearing the noise of a battle when cruizing off Gravelines, they sailed up an arm of the sea, and by cannonading one wing of the

NOTES.

Calais, two hundred years the slave
Of yon curst Isle, is freed. *Tr.* O brave !
Huzza ! huzza ! *M.* To crown the whole,
The British townsmen, every soul,
Far from our land are doom'd to stroll, &c.

I. P. A.

There is extant a letter written by the English council to Philip (who had proposed to attempt the re-taking of Calais) in a style so dejected, that it disgraces the national spirit.

The castle of Guisnes resisted longer than Calais, but soon fell, and that of Hammes was abandoned. Thus melted away the fast hold which England vaunted that she kept in France.

[HOLINGSHED, CAMPB. ADMIRALS.]

When Francis I. was made prisoner at Pavia, it was proposed by Henry VIII's council, to give up to France Calais, and all its dependencies. ‘A measure’ said some ‘highly honorable at this period, and greatly profitable to the realm.’ The motion was over-ruled.

The yearly cost of Calais to Mary was, at an average, 4030l. [STRYPE'S MEMO.]

* Holingshed, p. 1150.

the French army, they enabled the Spaniards to give their foes a signal overthrow.

And now, on the 17th of November, 1558, Mary, worn out with unrequited love, with consciousness of the deserved hate of her subjects, and with dread of that complete change which her successor would make in matters of religion, gave way to a dropsical complaint, and expired utterly unregretted, unless by those whose power and maintenance depended on her existence.

To delineate the character of this inglorious sovereign, is nearly as unpleasant a task, as to write the memoirs of her reign. Her person was mean, as her mind was narrow; from her mother she inherited pride; from her father, obstinacy and cruelty; but neither of her parents bequeathed to her any share of their abilities. Yet, says a great writer, ‘many salutary and popular laws, in civil matters, were made under her administration; perhaps the better to reconcile the people to the bloody measures which she was induced to pursue, for the re-establishment of religious slavery.’*

She was buried, with the Roman Catholic ceremonies, in the chapel of her grandfather Henry VII. Her relation, the primate Pole, survived Mary only sixteen hours.†

The

A. D. 1558.

The severe Buchanan embalmed her Memory by the following Epitaph :—

Sum Marie, male grata patri, male grata marito,
Cælo invisa, meæ pestis atrox patriæ,
Nulla aberat labes, nisi quod fuit addita custos
Fida pudicitiæ, forma maligna meæ.

Imitated.

Mary, by heaven and earth abhorr'd, my name
My country's scourge ; my sire's, my husband's shame.
From one offence alone by heaven ensur'd,
My odious form my chastity secur'd.

P.

From a prison, and from almost daily apprehension[32] of a violent death, the daughter of Anne Boleyn was called to the throne by the unanimous voice of Lords and Commons. She found the nation depressed by an unsuccessful war, the treasury exhausted, and the minds of the people totally unsettled about religion. Actuated by that prudence which she had learnt in the school of affliction, she took her measures with moderation.[33]

Moderation of Elizabeth.

She

NOTES.

[32] Elizabeth compared her own deliverance to that of Daniel from the Lion's den. [BURNET, &c.

‘ No marvel’ (says Holingshed) ‘ if she hearing upon a time a certain milk-mayde singing pleasantlie near her garden at Woodstocke, wished herself to be a milk-mayde as she was ; saying that her case was better and life merrier.’

[33] Truly magnanimous was the Queen’s conduct to Sir H. Bedingfield, the most brutally severe of her successive keepers. He presented himself at her court; ‘ Begone from my

She added to the late Queen's council,[34] the ^{A.D. 1558.} Lords Northampton and Bedford,* and several others (Bacon and Cecil among them) friends to the reformation ; she endeavoured to retain the amity of Philip, although she refused his offered hand; rationally arguing that, should she marry her late sister's husband by a dispensation, it would then be said, that her father Henry's marriage with his brother's widow, by the same authority, was equally legal, and of consequence her own birth illegitimate ; and she sent her most able statesmen as ambassadors to the emperor, and other foreign princes. It seems probable, that she would even have

NOTES.

my presence,' said the offended sovereign, ' and when I have a prisoner whom I wish to be treated with uncommon cruelty, I will send for you again.' She took no other revenge on this unmanly knight. Mr. Warton even intimates, that she visited him once or twice on a progress.

[LIFE OF SIR T. POPE, HOLINGSHED.]

[34] The thirteen Lords that were left of Mary's council were no bigots, but had changed with the times, namely, Winchester, Arundel, Pembroke, Shrewsbury, Derby, Clinton, Howard, &c. 'They sang,' as Sir J. Harrington wittily says of the Bishops, 'Cantate Domino, canticum novum,' four times in fourteen yeares, and yet never sang out of tune.' It was one of these (Winchester) who, on being asked how he had contrived to keep his interest at court in such jarring seasons, made answer, 'by being a willow, not an oak.' A sentiment leaning more to convenience than honor.

* Strype's Annals, p. 5.

A. D. 1558. have kept measures with the Pope ; but the hot-headed Paul scorned her advances, and would hear of nothing but her abdication.* This absurd and ill-timed insolence seems to have determined Elizabeth to follow the advice of Cecil, and declare Embraces in favor of that religion which her heart approved. But, although she recalled the exiles, allowed the service to be read in English, and forbade the elevation of the Host, yet, cautious of offending her only ally and a large number of her people, she prohibited controversial preaching, and sought by gentle means to unite the minds of all. The Bishops, however, took the alarm, and refused, in general, to assist at the coronation ; and Oglethorpe, who held the see of Carlisle, was hardly persuaded to set the crown on the most accomplished head that ever wore that ornament ; and even he insisted that the elevation of the Host should be performed. For this he was deprived of his bishoprick, a loss which broke his heart.

Many changes among the Bishops. Among the prelates who lost their sees as recusants, the fate of none were so much regretted as that of the mild and moderate Cuthbert Tonstall Bishop of Durham ; who, although his principles kept him steady to the Roman Catholic faith, had never walked in any paths of persecution ; but, at his own imminent hazard, had prevented the stain of sanguine bigotry from infecting his

* Father Paul, lib. v.

his diocese. In consequence, though contumacious, he was gently treated, and permitted to spend the small remainder of his days with his friend, the **Archbishop of Canterbury**. Far less laudable was the conduct of White, Bishop of Winchester; who, in the funeral sermon of Mary, after enlarging on her patience, her piety, and her knees hardened by incessant kneeling, added, ‘We have, however, her sister left, a lady of great virtue, whom we are bound to obey; for you know, “a living dog is better than a dead lion.”’ This equally disloyal and vulgar sentiment gave great offence; Dr. White was, however, only punished by being deprived, with the other recusant prelates, and suffering a short imprisonment.

Early in 1559 a Parliament was summoned; its members seemed heartily disposed to loyalty and reformation. They first confirmed the title of Elizabeth, which, from delicate regard to the memory of Henry and of Anne Boleyn, was permitted to rest only on the last disposition of that king: and then addressed her to marry: ‘As you Parlia-
have not pointed out *whom* you would have me wed,’ said the queen, ‘your address is dutiful, but my realm is my husband, my subjects are my children, and I only wish to have it inscribed on my tomb, that I lived and died a maiden Queen.’*

The

* Holingshed, p. 1181.

A.D. 1559. The Parliament then proceeded to allot to Elizabeth the supremacy of the church, and to discourage the service of the mass, by reviving the laws of Edward VI. respecting religion.* A conference and disputation between advocates for each contending faith, held in presence of the Lord Bacon, and ending, as usual, with triumph to that system which royalty espoused, finished the contest. Thus was the ill-constructed fabric raised by Mary, and cemented with so much innocent blood, utterly and irrevocably overturned in almost an instant of time.

Treaty
with
France.

The Commons, after a liberal grant of money, retired to their respective homes, and left to their sovereign the arduous task of settling a peace (necessary to her finances) with France. Philip, although from punctilio he supported her demand of Calais, was now little inclined to exert himself farther in favour of a confirmed heretic and a scornful mistress; she therefore (after securing her honor, by obtaining a conditional restoration [35] of

NOTES.

[35] Calais was to be restored to England at the end of eight years, provided no hostility was committed either towards France or Scotland during that period. And even should such an improbable continuation of peace exist, France had the alternative of paying a large sum of money.

[PUB. ACTS.]

* Holingshed, p. 1183.

of the disputed town) consented to a treaty in A.D. 1559.
which Scotland was included.

Scarcely had this agreement been signed, ere the foundation was laid of a new feud, productive of events more than usually interesting. Francis II. having just mounted the French throne, assumed, in right of his wife, Mary of Scotland, the royal title and arms of England, as well as its sister-kingdom ; nor gave any satisfactory answer to the sharp remonstrances of the English ambassador.

Fortunately for Elizabeth, the Lords of Scotland, headed by the Duke de Chatelherault (late Arran) had, at this juncture, applied to her for help against the queen-regent, Mary of Guise, and her French adherents. Encouraged by her discerning counsellors, the English queen promised them her aid; and actually ordered in the dead of winter a strong body of troops to march towards the north, under the Lord Gray ; [§6] which, in conjunction

Elizabeth
assists the
Scottish
Lords.

NOTES.

[§6] At this period, Sir Francis Anderson was mayor of Newcastle. Standing on the bridge, probably to see the troops pass by, he chanced to drop his ring into the Tyne. Some time after, one of his servants accidentally bought a fish in the market, in the body of which was found the identical ring which had been dropped. Mr. Braed, from whose history of Newcastle this story is taken, affirms that he has seen this ring in the possession of a descendant of the family; and adds, that Mr. Anderson has a family deed, prior in date to the above-told event, with the impression of the same seal on it. The engraving on the signet appears to be a Roman antique.

A. D. 1559. conjunction with the mal-content Scots, might form the siege of Leith, while a fleet under Sir William Winter* had directions to guard the Forth, and prevent the arrival of French succors.

1560. The enterprizes of Elizabeth were generally prudent, and almost always successful. Her troops† were joined by 5000 Scots, and Leith, though garrisoned by a numerous band of French veterans, inured to the defence of fortresses, after a gallant resistance, submitted to her arms. A fleet, destined to retrieve the affairs of the regent, was dispersed by a storm ; and, to complete the good fortune of the English, the civil dissensions of France prevented her from attending with any vigor to a foreign war. Readily, indeed, would the French have restored Calais to England to have withdrawn Elizabeth from her Scottish alliance, but she spurned the proposal ‘What !’ said she with politic integrity, ‘abandon my friends for a paltry fishing town !’ The death of the queen-regent, Mary of Guise, still more embarrassed the scene ; and the French monarch found himself at length obliged to embrace a humiliating treaty, styled that of Edinburgh, by which, for himself and Mary, he abandoned the title and arms of English royalty, withdrew his forces from Scotland, and promised no more to interfere in its government.

Leith taken,
and the
Scottish
war end-
ed.

These

* Holingshed, p. 1187. + Haynes, vol. i. 256, 259.

These great points being gained, Elizabeth ordered her troops to quit Scotland, without requiring from the party whom she had saved from ruin any other return, than their grateful recollection of her conduct ; in consequence of this moderation,* she acquired more influence in Scotland than Mary, its natural sovereign, could ever attain ; and before the year 1560 was ended, ambassadors were sent from the Scottish states, who had gone violent lengths in reformation, to express their hearty gratitude,† and intreat the continuance of her protection. [37]

The situation of Elizabeth was still very critical. She had not a single ally ; the Guises, whose counsels

NOTES.

[37] The Scots Lords (then styled ‘Lords of the Congregation’) strongly recommended to Elizabeth a marriage with the Earl of Arran. This accomplished young nobleman, the son of Hamilton Duke of Chatelherault, had quitted the service of France on account of his religion. Disappointed of his view on Elizabeth, he courted Mary of Scotland ; there too he was unsuccessful. These royal aims in Arran were not the offspring of mere vanity. He had in himself the next claim to the crown of Scotland, on failure of Mary’s heirs. The close of his life was melancholy ; he lost his senses, and lived many years in confinement ; happy only in not having sense enough to discern his titles and estates in the possession of the most worthless of men, Captain Stuart of Ochiltree.

[SPOTISWOOD.]

* Forbes, vol i. p. 354, 372.

+ Keith. p. 154.

A.D. 1560. counsels governed France, wished to dethrone her
Elizabeth in favor of their niece Mary; Philip of Spain had
menaced by Spain sent back the insignia of the garter, and avowed
and his enmity; and Pius IV. (who had succeeded the
France. insolent Paul on the Papal throne) disgusted at
her cool reception of a condescending message,
prepared anathemas, which, among the Roman
Catholic English, were sure to have considerable
weight.

The advice of Nicholas Bacon and of William Cecil, two of the best statesmen in Europe, joined to the more than masculine steadiness of Elizabeth, steered the state-vessel clear of these and all other perils.

Robert Dudley in favor with Elizabeth. In her choice of favorites, the queen was less judicious than in that of ministers. Robert Dudley, son to the ambitious Warwick, whose great personal accomplishments were, like those of his father, sullied by the most odious vices, possessed the highest place in her regard. He was, however, at first only the amusement of her idle hours, and was not entrusted with the secrets of the cabinet.

1561. That leisure which the disturbances in France and Scotland had allowed to Elizabeth, she employed in regulating her finances, and strengthening her frontiers. She reformed the royal household, and paid the crown debts; she drove from her shores all foreign fanatics, and prohibited hot-headed

headed zealots from defacing churches [38] and A.D.1561. monuments ; she armed her militia, she fortified her coasts by castles, and still more by stout vessels fit for war ; some of which she built, and others she encouraged the merchants to fit out.

By persisting in this sagacious plan, she became as she then was styled, ‘Queen of the Northern Seas.’* The Irish, who under Shan O’ Neil, the most popular and savage of their chiefs, had revolted, she soon brought to reason. She improved, The Irish pacified. ed her coin, which had been much debased ; and encouraged commerce and manufactures by the most sage regulations.

In 1561, the death of the young King of France, and the slights which Catherine di Medicis, the new regent, delighted to cast on his widow Mary, incited in that blooming princess, [39] now just nineteen

NOTES.

[38] Just at this time, the beautiful spire of St. Paul’s church, 520 feet high from the ground, and 260 from the tower, being made with wood and cased with lead, took fire by lightning, as supposed ; and was consumed. The tower was soon repaired ; but the spire was never rebuilt. It appeared afterwards, by the confession of a plumber on his death-bed, that a pan of coals, carelessly left in the steeple, had occasioned the conflagration. [STOWE, HEYLYN.]

[39] When Mary, in her fullest blaze of beauty, was walking in a procession through Paris, a woman forced her way

* Camden, p. 388. Strype, vol. i. p. 330, 336, 337.

A. D. 1561. nineteen years of age, a wish to take possession of her native throne. With this view she applied to Elizabeth, whose fleets rode triumphant in the Channel,* for a safe conduct. But she met a refusal, which indeed might have been expected, as she herself had never yet, though often applied to, consented to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh.† She sailed however; and escaping in a fog the English navy, landed safely at Leith. Her arrival was strangely announced to Elizabeth by an ill-timed request, that the queen of Scots might be acknowledg'd as heiress of the English crown. This was rejected with more temper than might have been expected, and a literary intercourse succeeded between the rival queens, in which the epistles were equally affectionate and equally insincere.

Mary of
Scots
leaves
France,
and lands
at Leith.

Suitors
to Eliza-
beth.

It is possible that a demand, which suggested to Elizabeth the humiliating idea of dying childless, inspired her with a transient spirit of coquetry; for it is at this period that she is said to have smiled on many adorers. Besides Lord Robert Dudley,

NOTES.

way through the crowd and touched her. Her excuse for this rudeness was extreme curiosity, which prompted her to feel if so angelic a creature were formed of flesh and blood.

[GRAINGER.]

* Goodall, vol. i. p. 175.

† Vie de Marie Steuard, par Brantome.

Dudley, the Earl of Arundel presumed on the antiquity of his family ; Sir William Pickering on his person ; and the Earl of Arran on his relation to the crown : several foreign princes too, among whom were Eric, King of Sweden,[40] and Adolphus, Duke of Holstein, paid their tribute of admiration, and none met with a positive refusal.

The attention of Elizabeth was, in 1562, attracted towards France ; where the Huguenot party, cruelly oppressed by the princes of the house of Guise, earnestly implored her assistance, as the protectress of the Protestant interest throughout Europe. Tempted by the hope of embarrassing the affairs of the most inveterate enemies to her rights, she first sent Sir Edward Poynings with 3000 men, and then the Lord Warwick with

Aid sent to the Hugue-
nots.

3000

NOTES.

[40] Elizabeth, during the reign of Mary, had refused the offer of this son of Gustavus Vasa, in so prudent a manner as to extort praise even from the lips of her ill-disposed sister. This princely wooer had paved his way to the fair queen, by sending to her ‘a royal present of eighteen large pyed horses, and two ships laden with riches.’

[STRYPE.]

There was a diverting perplexity as to the method of receiving this prince at court, from the prudish idea of ‘the Queenes Majestie being still a mayde.’

[WARTON FROM BURGHLEY.]

The costly method in which Eric carried on his suit, was a matter of serious concern to the senate of Sweden.

[RAYMOND'S LIFE OF GUSTAVUS VASA.]

A.D. 1561. 3000 more to Normandy, where Havre-de-Grace was delivered up by the mal-contents then in arms, as a cautionary town ; Diep, which place Sir Edward Poynings had garrisoned, having been abandoned as not defensible. At home, the queen was harrassed by conspiracies. The Earl and Countess of Lenox having engaged in a suspicious correspondence with Mary of Scots, were sent to the Tower ; there were also two weak young men, nephews to the late Cardinal Pole, who formed a chimerical plan (founded on astrological predictions) to excite a rebellion in Wales, and support their cause by succors from France. The absurdity of these plotters probably saved their lives. But Elizabeth extended not the same indulgence to Lady Catharine Gray : more unfortunate even than her ill-starr'd sister, Jane. Catharine had been in 1553 united to the Lord Herbert ; who, as he had married her merely from ambitious views, had the baseness to desert her, when he found her family delivered over to the axe. After this separation, she privately married the Lord Hertford, son to the late protector Somerset. By him she had one child ; a circumstance which alarmed Elizabeth, whodreaded every one that shared the royal blood. Both husband and wife were sent to separate confinement in the Tower, and their marriage was annulled by sentence in the Archbishop's court. The appearance of a second offspring enraged the queen beyond

due bounds. Hertford was enormously amerced A.D. 1561.
for corrupting a princess of the blood ; the treatment of each was more severe than ever ; and it was not until the hapless Catharine had died, after pining nine years in solitary confinement, that the persecuted earl was permitted to enjoy his liberty.

In the interim the Huguenots, led by Condé, received a severe defeat from the royalists under Montmorency at Dreux, where, by a strange caprice of fortune, each party left its general a prisoner. The admiral escaped from the field, rallied the shattered remnants of his army, and received from Elizabeth 100,000* crowns, which helped his active spirit to raise a new force against the Roman Catholic troops.

The imminent danger to which Elizabeth had 1562. in the winter of 1562 been exposed by the small-pox, so much alarmed a Parliament which she summoned early in the next year, that she was again earnestly addressed by the members† to marry or to settle the succession ; a request, each branch of which she dexterously evaded. Marriage she liked not for herself or others ; and as to the succession, she had too much penetration not to know, that when she named an heir, she created a rival. The Parliament, after having granted a liberal

* Forbes, vol. ii. p. 322, 347.

† D'Ewes's Journal, p. 81.

A. D. 1562. beral supply, and after having passed a rigorous act against those who acknowledged not the royal supremacy, another against foolish and rebellious prophecies, and a third against witches and sorcerers, was prorogued.

1563. Beyond the Channel, affairs went ill for England. The factions which had desolated France being reconciled by a sudden and short-lived peace, united to expel the Earl of Warwick from Havre-de-Grace lost. They could not have accomplished this had not a dreadful pestilence reduced his gallant band to a handful.* The capitulation had hardly been signed, before the Lord Clinton appeared at the mouth of the harbor with a fleet and 3000 soldiers. They were too late; and, to add to the mishaps of this disastrous campaign, the disease which had thinned the ranks, accompanied the poor remains of the garrison to London, where it swept away near 30,000 souls.

The affairs of the north were too important, and too nearly connected with the security of the English queen, to be neglected by so keen a politician. The youth and beauty of the Scottish Mary, and still more her powerful, though ill-regulated sovereignty, made her a desirable object to every unmarried prince in Europe. Among others who stood candidates for so valuable a prize, we find that at this time Charles, Archduke

* Forbes, vol. ii. p. 450, 458.

duke of Austria, endeavoured to gain possession of her hand. But this connection Elizabeth took great pains to prevent, by causing intimations to be given to her, that such a marriage might endanger her claim to the English succession. On the other hand the Guises, uncles to Mary, indelicately offered her hand to almost every Roman Catholic prince in Europe; so much did they dread her marrying a Protestant, or connecting herself in close amity with Elizabeth.*

Early in 1564, a peace was made between Elizabeth and Charles IX. of France. A large sum of money was paid to England by the French, and the Calais hostages were restored; the right to the place remaining as before.

A general tranquillity now taking place throughout Europe, Mary of Scotland thought seriously of being married, and Elizabeth, with greater earnestness, how to prevent her nuptials. She had proposed to the Scottish queen her favorite Robert Dudley,† lately created Earl of Leicester, and Mary seemed not disinclined to the match, provided her right to the English succession might at the same time be settled. But the Queen of England who never meant that things should go so far, now permitted another candidate for the heart of Mary to appear on the stage. This was the Lord Darnley, son to the Earl and Countess of

Lenox,

* Forbes, vol. ii. p. 287. + Melvill, p. 47.

A.D. 1564. Lenox, who, as grandson to Henry VII. by his daughter Margaret of Scotland, divided with Mary the claim to the crown of England. Darnley engaged in the pursuit of the fair Queen,[41] with the full leave of Elizabeth, who imagined that, as the large estates of his family were in her power, she could at any time stop the marriage. The event proved that she was much mistaken. The extremely elegant* person of the suitor, irreversibly engaged the heart of Mary. It inspired her with courage as well as love, and she mounted her horse and headed her troops against the opposers of the marriage.+

It was at this time, that, pained by the visible disingenuity of Elizabeth's conduct, Mary had written a resentful letter; which, on consideration, she repented of, and sent Sir James Melvill, a sprightly courtier, to make her peace. The English princess, still more jealous of Mary's charms than of her claim, sifted the subtle minister even as to the colour of her hair. At last, she asked him plainly, which of the two he thought the fairest? To this the cautious Melvill answered,

that

NOTES.

[41] David Rizzio, afterwards slain by Darnley, was the person who introduced that young nobleman to the company and good graces of the then amiable and gentle Mary.

[MELVILL.]

* Melvill, p. 101.

+ App. to Keith, p. 164.

that her Majesty was the fairest person in Eng- ^{A.D. 1564.} land and his mistress in Scotland. During their interviews, Elizabeth shewed herself to him in the dresses of various countries, and contrived to let him hear her perform on the virginals, an instrument which she understood to perfection; all the time endeavouring, with incredible dexterity, to allure the envoy into comparisons disadvantageous to his lovely mistress.

During the course of 1564, Frances Dutchess of Suffolk (daughter to Mary of France, sister to Henry VIII.) ended in prison a life, which, for variety of wretchedness, had had few parallels since that of the Trojan Hecuba. She had seen her daughter, the Lady Jane, beheaded. Her own and her daughter's husbands had shared the same fate. Her daughter Catharine, after having been repudiated by the Earl of Pembroke, was now confined in the Tower, and her youngest daughter, Mary, most unequally matched to an inferior officer of the household. The old Dutchess herself had wedded Adrian Stokes, 'a meane gentylman,' more as is supposed, for her security than from passion; the same motive had, perhaps, weighed with her daughter Mary.[42]

About

NOTES.

[42] It is said, that on Elizabeth's exclaiming, 'What! has she married her horse-keeper?' 'Yes, Madam,' replied Lord

A.D. 1564. About this time the good correspondence between the English and the Flemings was for a short space interrupted, by the contrivance of Philip's minister in Flanders, the Cardinal Granvelle ; but their mutual interest as to commerce, soon brought about a reconciliation.

1565. With great apparent surprise and indignation did Elizabeth hear, in 1565, of the union between Mary of Scotland and the Lord Darnley. She seized the lands of Lenox, complained loudly of ill treatment, and even incited* the Protestant Lords to revolt against the new king as a Roman Catholic. They flew to arms, but were soon routed and forced to take refuge in England, where the policy of the queen instigated her to give them a reception,† painful to them and disgraceful to herself; for, after having by indirect means prevailed

NOTES.

Lord Burghley, ‘and she says your Majesty would like to do so too.’ Leicester was then master of the horse.

[WALPOLE'S ANEC.

Her grace's chaplain, John Pulleyne, was probably more remarkable for his orthodoxy than for his skill in poetry; at least if we are to judge by a stanza from his translation of Solomon's song;

She is so young in Christe's truth,

That yet she has no teates;

She wanteth brestes to feed her youth,

With sound and perfect meates. [WARTON.]

* Melvill, p. 57. + Ibid. p. ibid.

prevailed on the deluded Lords, before the am-^{A.D. 1565.}
 bassadors of France and Spain, to acknowledge
 that she had no share in their revolt, Elizabeth
 had the audacity to drive them from her presence
 as ‘rebels and traytors.’ Throgmorton, who had
 had her own authority to encourage their rising,
 would not join in this odious farce, but avowed
 the part she had taken. The queen, however,
 provided for their subsistence in England, until
 Darnley’s jealousy of Rizzio restored them to
 their country.

An account which Elizabeth now received of ^{1566.}
 the birth of a prince to Mary of Scots, affected ^{A Scot-}
 her with a severe momentary pang; she retired ^{tish}
 from a splendid entertainment at which she had ^{prince}
 presided, and even, as is said, bitterly lamented
 ‘her own virgin state, and the superior felicity
 of her sister queen* in having a male offspring.’
 This was, however, only the lapse of a moment;
 she soon recovered her native firmness, and sent
 the Earl of Bedford to Mary with a golden font,
 which she presented as god-mother. At the
 same time, to keep up the farce of her resentment
 against the Lenox family, Bedford was ordered
 not to style the spouse of Mary, king. The
 Lords, as well as the Commons of England, took ^{The Eng-}
 this occasion to renew their batteries ^{lish Par-}
 against the queen’s reluctance to marry, or to settle the suc-^{liament}
^{irritated.}

* Melvill, p. 70.

A.D. 1566. cession. On this attack, the great officers were sent to stop the discussion, and to declare, that it would be dangerous at this period to appoint an heir. This, however, gave no satisfaction; and Paul Wentworth, a spirited member, spoke largely on the privileges of Parliament, and on the illegality of the check which had been given to freedom of debate. On finding an unusual increase of warmth in the senate, Elizabeth wisely restored the liberty of speech, and Parliament in return supplied her so liberally, that the moderate sovereign, conscious that the grant was meant to incline her to settle the succession, contented herself with two thirds of what it had allotted, and nobly asserted, that 'she thought the money in her subjects' purses was as ready to serve the state, as if in her exchequer.' The Universities of Oxford[43] and Cambridge were, in the same year, honored with a visit from the queen, who signified to each of them, in an elegant Latin speech, her approbation of their attention to literature.

A circumstance in the behavior of Mary Stuart, is supposed to have given Elizabeth great disgust at this period; the Earl of Bedford, who had

NOTES.

[43] The letter written to Elizabeth from the University of Oxford, on her arrival at her palace after this visit, partakes of the punning turn of the age: 'Ergo tuam celsitudinem, non dicam ut numen, dicam certè ut Numam veneramur.'

[PHILIPS'S LIFE OF POLE.]

had attended her with congratulations on the ^{A.D. 1566.}
 birth of James, was instructed to demand the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, whereby the arms of England were to be expunged from her escutcheon. Mary hesitated, but offered an engagement, that she would not use either the ti- ^{Mary of Scots cautious.} tacle or the arms *during the life of Elizabeth*. Yet the caution might be right. Elizabeth hated her as a rival, the English dreaded her as a Papist; perhaps an unqualified resignation of title and arms might have been used to deprive her line of the succession.

About this time, the jealousy of Darnley tempt- ^{Murther} ed him to excite a number of Scottish Lords to ^{of Rizzio.} assassinate David Rizzio, and in a manner so indecent and cruel, that it appeared as if he had had an intention to terrify his wife Mary, then pregnant, into some disease, which might destroy both her and her offspring.*

In no placid humor did the English Queen dismiss her Parliament in February, 1567. Her parting speech was a mixture of tenderness and severity. She hinted at her ‘knowing the designs of many among them in favor of Mary;’ and protested, ‘that by checking their debates, she meant not to infringe their liberties, but merely to warn them of a precipice;’ or, to use her

A.D. 1567. own homely but expressive words, ‘to stay them before they fell* into a ditch.’

Plots
against
Eliza-
beth.

If Sir James Melvil is to be credited, Elizabeth was by no means too cautious. By his intrigues, and those of the Roman Catholic party, there were bands of armed men ready to rise in many counties to support the cause of Mary, as to her succession at least, if not as to somewhat farther. Besides this, the Duke of Norfolk, the Lords Leicester, Pembroke, Bedford, Northumberland, and, except Cecil, all the great and leading men in England, seemed earnest for a declaration of a successor; and the moderation in religious matters which Mary had hitherto maintained,‡ had gained many voices in her favor.[44] But the imprudence (to give it the tenderest name) of the Scottish queen, saved her rival from perhaps the greatest peril of those which attended her long reign. Mary had been with reason disgusted at the insolence and cruelty of the man, to whom she had fondly given her person and her kingdom.

NOTES.

[44] Some zealous Protestants adhered to the claims of descendants from the house of Brandon, and there was among the English a sufficient difference of opinion as to the succession, to make cautious persons dread a civil war, if Elizabeth should die before that point should be settled. [HUME.]

* D'Ewes, p. 116, 117. † Haynes, p. 446, 448.

‡ Melvill, p. 53, 61, 74.

kingdom. He had murthered in her presence her A.D. 1567.
favorite servant, of whom he had conceived a jealousy, and this at a period when the queen was far advanced in pregnancy. Not long after, this worthless and ungrateful prince was assassinated ; and those who at the time acquitted Mary of any concern in this foul deed, could hardly avoid changing their sentiments, when the fair widow, within three months after the catastrophe of Darnley, gave* her hand to the profligate lord Bothwell, whom Scotland's united voice had pointed out as the murtherer of her husband. The sea of troubles into which this unhappy step plunged the lovely but indiscreet princess, prevented her from embroiling the affairs of her neighbor, and at length totally overwhelmed her. Elizabeth at first, in some degree interfered in her favor, by sending Sir Nicholas Throgmorton to the Lords who held her in confinement ; but, at that time, even *her* remonstrances were not listened to, so fully were the Scots persuaded of their sovereign's guilt.

It was about this time that Ireland was freed, for a short time, from the ravages of civil war, in which the ambition of Shan (or John) O'Neil, and the tyrannical inconsistency of the English government, had involved it.

Shan

* Spotswood, p. 203, &c.

A.D. 1567:
Account
of Shan
O'Neil.

Shan O'Neil was a valiant, licentious savage, of extensive popularity in his country. He abhorred the English customs, because they led to civilization, and is said to have slain some of his followers merely for attempting to introduce to his district the use of bread ; yet though so violent an enemy to luxury, he indulged himself in the most beastly excess ; and was used to allay the fever which his intemperance had caused, by plunging into pools of mire. This stern barbarian scorned the Earldom of Tyrone, which Elizabeth would have given to him, and called himself King of Ulster. ‘ The Queen,’ he would often say, ‘ was his sovereign lady ; but yet he never made peace with her, but at her seeking.’ The activity of Sir Henry Sidney having driven this haughty cacique from his lurking places, he chose, rather than submit to England, to trust the faith of a Scottish roving sea-captain ; who, from some old grudge, slew him at an entertainment.

These transactions, with a fruitless, because formal, demand on France for the restitution of Calais, closed the story of 1567. Calais was, indeed, only to have been restored, on condition that England should commit no hostilities against France ; and the French now plausibly produced the assistance given to the Huguenots, and the taking possession of Havre, as breaches of the contract.

To amuse her people, whose wishes to see A.D. 1568.
 their queen married were unanimous, Elizabeth Elizabeth
 apparently listened, in 1568, to the addresses of courted by the
 the Archduke Charles ; but, by proposing harsh Arch-
 conditions, delayed the negotiation so long, that Duke.
 the disgusted wooer, finding his address slighted
 and himself denied the public exercise of his re-
 ligion, flew off, courted the daughter of the Ba-
 varian Albert (a less capricious mistress) and
 married her.

A more important subject soon took up all the queen's attention. Mary of Scots, after having made a forced resignation of her crown to her infant son James, had escaped from the hands of her foes.* She had raised a new army, had been utterly defeated, and forced to take shelter in the dominions of the English queen, whose generosity and policy were at war concerning the manner of her reception. The latter, however, aided by the suggestions of Cecil, gained the day ; and the royal fugitive, instead of being received with open arms by Elizabeth, was consigned to the care of the family of Scrope, nearly connected with that of Howard. Advantage having been taken of a wish which Mary had expressed of clearing her character to the English queen,+ commissioners were appointed to hear her accusation

* Camden, p. 410.

+ Spotswood, p. 219.

A.D. 1568. ation and defence,[44] and York was the place settled for the inquiry. Murray, regent of Scotland, together with the Earl of Morton, the Bishop of Orkney, Lord Lindsay, and others attended, besides the Earl and Countess of Lenox, who loudly accused Mary of Darnley's murther.

Accused Besides these, Maitland of Lethington and **of her husband's** chanan attended as assistants. At first the regent was cautious of provoking her who might again become his queen, by too harsh an exposition of her faults; but when the hearing was transferred to London, when the duke of Norfolk was no longer a commissioner, and above all, when the sentiments of Elizabeth were understood, he no longer hesitated to produce the most bitter charges against the unhappy princess.

Her defence ill conduct-ed.

Whether or not they were well founded, Mary certainly took an improper method of defence. The bishop of Ross and her other commissioners protested, that they had orders not to concern themselves with any accusation against her, since 'as she was a sovereign princess, she would justify herself to none but her sister-queen, Elizabeth.' They likewise laid the charge of Darnley's murther at the door of the regent, but advanced no proofs whatever to support the accusation.

In

NOTES.

[44] These were the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadlier.

In the mean time, the whole proceedings, A.D. 1568: charges, and evidence, as to the conduct of the Scottish queen, having been solemnly laid before the privy-council of England, the regent was permitted to return to Edinburgh, and had 5,000l. allowed him by Elizabeth for his expences. She then tried to persuade the hapless Mary to resign her crown to the infant James, or to divide, at least, her authority with him ; but that high-spirited princess would accept of no compromise ; and firmly demanded either an interview with the Queen of England, or licence to depart in search of some potentate more disposed to befriend her.

The enmity which Philip of Spain bore to Elizabeth, had hitherto only discovered itself by insults offered to her ships and merchants ; these she had retaliated by seizures, and by letters of reprisal ; no open war had yet appeared. In 1569, Plots against Eliza- the Spaniard played a deeper game. By means beth. of the Duke of Alva, who commanded in the Netherlands, a correspondence was begun with the Roman Catholic friends of Mary, an invasion of England was projected, and Chiapini Vitelli, an experienced soldier, was sent to London on a plausible pretence, that he might be at hand to head the revolters. At the same time the royal prisoner was engaged in a much more justifiable negotiation. The Duke of Norfolk, a Protestant, suitable to Mary in age and personal accomplishments, aspired to her hand. His influence with the English

A.D. 1569. English nobility was so extensive, that not less than nine* of the first rank, with the favored Leicester at their head, declared themselves satisfied with the match. To complete the plan, however, it was necessary for Mary to be divorced from the odious Bothwell; nor could this be brought about without the aid of Murray. He, therefore, was unavoidably entrusted with the secret, and, probably by this means, Elizabeth gained intelligence of the whole design. [45] Not wishing to proceed to extremities with so potent a peer as Norfolk, she warned him of his danger; she even hinted to him ‘to heed on what pillow he laid his head.’ These intimations were unhappily of no use, for the Duke affected to scorn the idea of aiming to rule over a wild people torn in pieces by factions. ‘At his tennis-court at Norwich, surrounded by his tenants,’ he said, ‘he was already a little prince.’ In consequence, he was seized and sent to the Tower, and Mary was removed to a place of security; + a precaution taken just in time, for the Roman Catholics of the north, headed by the bigoted Earls of Northumberland [46] and Westmoreland, now no longer

NOTES.

[45] The letters relating to this plot were, for secrecy, conveyed in ale bottles. [CAMDEN.]

[46] A copper mine, unjustly as he thought wrested from him, had urged Northumberland to this revolt.

* Leslie, p. 55.

+ Ibid. p. 80.

Norfolk
imprisoned.

longer kept in awe by the loyal and well-meaning Duke, flew to arms ; and at the head of 18,000 men of their friends and those of the old religion, took possession of Durham; where, after publicly asserting their loyalty to Elizabeth, they professed a determination to restore the Roman Catholic faith, and after tearing in pieces, in the market-place, the English Bible and Common Prayer-book, they erected a crucifix in the cathedral, and celebrated a pompous mass. But the Lord Sussex, president of the north, who had watched their motions, soon collected troops sufficient to march against them, and these unhappy peers, as weak in conducting as they had been rash in undertaking their revolt, avoided the contest, fled to Scotland, and left their deluded followers to the unmerciful discretion of the provost-martial, Sir W. Bowes; who is said to have executed on a gallows sixty-six petty constables, and some hundreds of others.

Leonard, brother to the Lord Dacres, who, at the head of 3,000, insurgents, attempted to support the same cause, met a similar fate. He, as well as the Earl of Westmoreland, found means to quit the island; but the less fortunate Northumberland was seized in Scotland by order of the regent, and thrown into prison.

The conduct of Norfolk had been so blameless during these troubles, and his endeavors to serve Elizabeth, by ordering his tenants to join her troops,

A.D. 1569. troops, so hearty, that she released him from the Tower, and permitted him to live at his own house, on parole and bond, that he would proceed no farther as to his projected marriage.*

In the mean time professions of regard, equally deceitful on each side, passed between the rival queens; who, although nearly equal in activity, capacity, and spirit, were ill matched as to prudence and power. In these, the advantage rested clearly + with Elizabeth. [47]

SECTION

NOTES.

[47] At this period died in prison Edmund Bonner, the deprived Bishop of London. He had been chaplain to Henry VIII. The gratitude of Cromwell, whom he had befriended, procured him an embassy to the pope, and to other princes. He lost his see in the reign of Edward VI. for not preaching heartily in favor of the king's supremacy. Mary restored him, and he became a singularly brutal persecutor of the Protestants. On the accession of Elizabeth, he was a second time degraded and thrown into the Marshalsea, where he ended his days. It has been hinted before, that he was a kind of buffoon, and in his misfortunes he retained a pertness not dissimilar to wit. A contemporary bard thought two of his bon-mots worth reciting in an epigram as follows :

Bonner, that once had bishop been of London,
Was bid by one ' Goodmorrow, bishop *Quondam* ;'
He, with the scoff no whit put out of temper,
Reply'd incontinent, ' Adieu, knave *Semper* !'

Another

* Leslie, p. 98. + Hume's Tudors, vol. ii. p. 516.

A. D. 1570.

SECTION II.

THE assassination of Murray, regent of Scotland,^{1570.} Murray assassinated. early in 1570, threw the government into confusion, and would have given great advantage to the partisans of Mary, who instantly took up arms, and endeavored to engage the sister-nations in a war, ^{+ had not the Earl of Sussex,} at the head of an army, entered the country, ravaged the lands of those adherents of Mary who had plundered the borderers, and compelled the divided realm to appoint the Earl of Lenox to the

NOTES.

Another, in such kind of scoffing joke,
Begg'd his furr'd tippet for to line his cloke.
' No ! no ! ' quoth he, ' content thee with thy hap,
' Who hast a foolish head, to line thy cap.'

It may perhaps be worth observation, that, on the 11th of January, 1569, a kind of lottery was drawn at the west door of St. Paul's cathedral, and continued incessantly till the 6th of May following. It had 40,000 lots at 10s. each lot, and the profits were to go towards repairing the havens of the kingdom. The prizes were plate.

Some account of this, or of a similar lottery, was given to the Antiquarian Society, in 1748, by Dr. Rawlinson.

^{*} Melvill, p. 102. [†] Spotswood, p. 234.

A.D. 1570. the vacant regency. Soon after this, a most ill-concerted scheme in favor of the Duke of Norfolk, in which the family of Stanley were the leaders, was discovered, and the plotters imprisoned.
Lenox succeeds to the regency.

Negotiations, intricate as fruitless, concerning the fate of Mary, filled up the rest of 1570. At this period, Elizabeth seemed willing to have promoted the queen's restoration to the restrained exercise of royalty; but the Lords of Scotland, headed by the Earl of Morton, a man of the most bitter inveteracy against Mary and her friends, under pretence of duty to the young king, would agree to no plan in his mother's favor. Fretted by suspense, Mary fell dangerously ill, and the English queen not only sent her the best physicians of her train, but added the compliment of an elegant ring as a token of sisterly affection. She was not, in the mean while, unmindful of the state of Europe. Walsingham, one of her most subtle statesmen, watched over the approaching union of parties in France, while her fleet, commanded by a Howard, evinced at the same time her power and her courtesy, by convoying Anne of Austria to her bridegroom Philip of Spain, through the Channel. An incident at this time, added exceedingly to the jealousy which Elizabeth and all the Protestants of England already entertained of the Queen of Scots. Pope Pius, who had lately succeeded to the triple diadem, disgusted at the

English queen for not receiving his overtures of amity with gratitude, and fearful lest her moderation might tempt many of her subjects to quit the Roman Catholic faith, promulgated a ^{A.D. 1570.} ~~anathematizes~~
 The Pope
 Eliza-
 beth.
 damna-
 tory decree against her, and against all who should obey her commands.* A wretched fanatic, named Felton, who dared to post this bull against the Bishop of London's palace-gate, and who scorned to fly or deny the fact, received the fate he wished for ; and severe laws were made by Parliament against those who should either publish or obey the denunciations of a pope. [49]

The

NOTES.

[49] Dr. John Storie was executed for treason about this time, and fell unpitied. During the reign of Mary he had been active, even to wantonness, in deeds of persecuting cruelty; and soon after the succession of Elizabeth, in 1558, he owned that he had ‘tost a sagot at the face of a burning heretic, as he was singing psalms, and set a bushe of thornes under his feet, a little to pricke him.’ These words he said in parliament, and was a little while after thrown into prison by order of the new queen. Thence escaping, he betook himself to Flanders, where he soon grew into favor with the merciless Alva, who, finding him formed after his own model, employed him in offices suited to his talents, in carrying on correspondence with the English malcontents, and in searching houses for books which might subject the inhabitants to the inquisition. His alertness in this last department proved his ruin. A decoy was prepared for him, and he was told of a cargo of prohibited literature

which

* Camden, p. 487.

A.D. 1571.


Statutes
against
the pope,
&c.

The Queen of England now summoned a Parliament after a recess of five years. It met in April 1571. It denounced the publishing any bull, &c. from the pope, treason; it declared, that to call the queen 'heretic,' or to say that the statutes might not regulate the succession, [50] &c. &c. was treason; it gave to Elizabeth what money she wanted, which was but little; it tried its strength in favor of a reformation of the Liturgy, and against a pernicious monopoly favored by the court, and was baffled.

Account
of what
the Puriti-
ans were.

As the Parliament now abounded in men of stern morals and independent fortunes, who about this time began to be called Puritans, from the supposed

NOTES.

which an English sloop at the mouth of the Schelde had brought, and meant to land at Antwerp. Storie darted incautious on his prey; but while he was eagerly searching the hold, the sails were loosed, the anchor weighed, and the wretched traitor with horror found himself on his way for England: He lay some time in prison, and at last, when executed, he parted from life most unwillingly; for after he had been hanged, cut down, and partly dismembered, he sprang up, and almost felled the executioner by a blow on the ear.

[HOLINGSHED.]

[50] It was enacted, that 'the *natural* issue of the queen's body, only, might succeed,' &c. This expression being rather uncommon, and used in lieu of 'lawful,' gave room to many whom Camden styles, 'lewd catchers of words,' to fancy that it was meant to bring forward some illicit fruit of the supposed loves between Elizabeth and Leicester.

supposed purity of their lives and doctrines, it ^{A.D. 1571.} may not be amiss to describe in a few words a party which, although by no means to be defended in every point, had yet the merit, as Mr. Hume with a laudable candor owns, ‘of kindling and preserving the precious spark of liberty.’ ‘And it was to this sect,’ proceeds the liberal author, ‘whose principles appear so frivolous and habits so ridiculous, that the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution.’ The cruelties of Mary’s government had driven many ministers of Protestant principles to cross the sea; these, when on the death of their persecutrix they returned home, brought with them a double portion of bitterness against Popery; and, from their late familiarity with the Calvinistical teachers, an utter dislike to any ecclesiastical forms whatever. The proselytes of these refugees, adopting principles of civil as well as religious freedom, became, when in Parliament, the terror and detestation both of kings and bishops:

In May the session was ended, not without a severe reprimand from the Lord Keeper, for the ‘audacious, arrogant, and presumptuous folly’ of some of its members.

Elizabeth, at this juncture, thought it her interest to connect herself with France; and actually listened favorably to the matrimonial proposals of the Duke of Anjou, brother to Charles IX. ^{Anjou} ^{courts} Catharine di Medicis, who ruled the French ^{Eliza-} ^{beth.} ^{court} ^{binet,}

A.D. 1571. binet, probably entered into the negotiation with as little sincerity as the English queen; who tacitly permitted Henry Champernon to lead a party of English soldiers to assist the Huguenots. Among these, Raleigh (afterwards Sir Walter) served his earliest campaign.

Norfolk
engages
in a plot
with
Alva.

Every passing year must have farther convinced Elizabeth of the perils to which the imprisonment of Mary exposed her. The friends of that princess, impatient at the procrastinations of the English court, had now formed a new conspiracy, in which Norfolk joined anew to deliver her, and to restore her to her throne. The intestine troubles of Scotland rendered this enterprise not difficult. Lenox the new regent had been slain, and although the Earl of Mar was appointed in his room, yet the party of Mary was not discouraged.

Norfolk, however, was too good an Englishman to enter heartily into a plan which comprehended a foreign invasion, and, perhaps, the de-thronement of his sovereign. He hesitated, he shuddered at an union with the atrocious Duke of Alva; and while he doubted, the vigilant Cecil, now Lord Burleigh, detected the whole conspiracy, and Norfolk was sent to the Tower. At the same time Leslie, Bishop of Ross, the most active of Mary's agents, was confined, and so severely threatened, that he confirmed the confessions and the evidence which others had given in.

in.* Ridolfi, a Florentine banker, long resident in London, appeared to be the soul of the conspiracy, and was now travelling through Europe[†] to regulate the foreign succors which were at hand to support the cause of the Scottish princess.

A strange event in Herefordshire marked 1571. A piece of ground containing twenty-six acres, under Marlech-hill, burst from its station, and moved with a groaning noise, carrying with it cattle, sheepcotes, trees, &c. full forty paces the first day. It stopped at the end of four days, forming a hill of seventy-two feet in height. Rynaston chapel it had overturned in its progress. It left a hollow thirty feet in depth, and one hundred and sixty yards wide, and four hundred in length.‡

Early in 1572, the honest but imprudent Duke of Norfolk was tried by a jury of twenty-five peers, and condemned to die for treasonably plotting against Elizabeth. The trial was regular, except that the witnesses were not confronted with the prisoner; such was not then the custom in cases of high-treason. Some months passed before the sentence was executed,§ and the queen twice revoked the death-warrant she had signed, although the ministers pressed and the Parliament

* Leslie's Negotiations, p. 197.

+ Ibid. p. 354.

† Stowe, Holingshed, &c. § Carte, p. 527. Digges, p. 166.

A.D. 1572. demanded the catastrophe. On the scaffold the generous nobleman acknowledged the justice of his sentence, but absolutely denied his ever having given his consent to the interference of foreign powers. [51] He died, praying for the welfare of Elizabeth,* and that she may live and reign many years. ‘even to the world’s end, which’ (continued the Duke) ‘I believe some one alive shall live to see.’

The ambassador of Spain had been deeply engaged in these dark negotiations. He had likewise exerted himself to prevent the proposed match between Elizabeth and Anjou; and was even suspected of attempting to assassinate the Lord Burleigh, whom he loudly declared to be the enemy of his master. For these unjustifiable

The Ambassador of Spain sent away. measures he was ordered to quit the kingdom; a proceeding which Philip resented, by seizing the goods of the English in his dominions.

A treaty

NOTES.

[51] Norfolk might probably have been saved had he made an open confession, at least Elizabeth declared that he would; but his servants had owned their being entrusted to carry money to the friends of Mary in Scotland, and the duke, ignorant of their confession, persisted in denying the whole affair.

[LESLIE.]

Not very long after this event, the fugitive Earl of Northumberland, being delivered up by the regent of Scotland, suffered in like manner.

* Camden, p. 440.

A treaty was now concluded between Elizabeth and Charles IX. * of France; a short-lived treaty, whose articles were soon washed away by the torrents of Protestant blood rushing from the gates of Paris, from the very chambers of the royal palace! Fenelon, a man of honor enough to acknowledge himself ashamed of wearing the name of a Frenchman, was sent by Charles to the English queen, that he might extenuate the horrors of that execrable massacre. He was received by her, and her whole court, in the deepest mourning; and her answer to the futile excuses of Charles was cold and even bitter. It was, however, not expressive of active resentment; for the politic princess, surrounded as she was by domestic as well as foreign enemies, and far from wishing to render France hostile, submitted to hear new overtures of marriage from Alençon,† the younger brother of the Duke of Anjou; and even stood [52] as god-mother to a princess of France,

NOTES.

[52] Brantôme speaks of a magnificent golden ‘ font,’ sent by the queen to Charles of France on this occasion. This embassy grievously alarmed the Huguenots, who thought that their only protectress meant to unite with their enemies. They did not fathom her deep policy, nor consider that her interest would always oblige her to save their party from total destruction.

* Camden, p. 443.

+ Ibid. p. 447.

A.D. 1572. France, who was christened Marie-Elizabeth. At the same time, as she knew that the Guises (who now again ruled in France) longed for the ruin of her, the great and only bulwark of the Protestant cause, she took every possible precaution against their dangerous designs.

The Puritans lead the Parliament.

In the mean time the Parliament, in which the puritan [53] interest preponderated, would have proceeded to great lengths against Mary, after ransacking the Old Testament * for precedents, had not Elizabeth, to whom the French ambassador had recourse, interfered, and checked with great mildness their over-care for her security.

The small-pox, which about this period attacked Elizabeth, and even brought her life into danger, added to the alarms with which the very critical state of Europe affected every well-wisher to the Protestant interest. [54]

The

NOTES.

[53] The plundering and consequent destruction of churches, chapels, &c. was grown to such a height, that Elizabeth found it necessary to issue a proclamation against such as might take away lead, bells, &c. [HOLINSHED.]

[54] In this year the trial by combat was demanded, concerning an estate in Kent, by Simon Lowe and John Kime, against Thomas Paramore. The affair was however made up, but nevertheless the champions appeared in form before the judges, in lists, appointed for the purpose. Nailer, champion

* D'Ewes, p. 207, 208.

The impolitic cruelties of Alva in the Nether-^{A.D. 1573.}lands had, by this time, compelled the inhabitants, through despair, to resistance. At sea, the Dutch mariners ranged afar, and, without any showy triumph, most severely distressed the trade of Spain. Elizabeth received these rovers in her ports, and even permitted her subjects to purchase their prizes. In order, therefore, to prevent England from giving more effectual assistance to his revolted subjects, Philip condescended, in 1573, to repay to Elizabeth all the damages which he had occasioned to her merchants, either at sea or in his harbors.

encourages the Dutch
rovers.

The œconomy of this great queen deserves at this period, most particular praise. Besides the expences of fortifying her coast, and improving her navy, she found means, without any additional burthen on her subjects, to discharge the debts due to her people from Edward VI. from Mary her sister, and from herself; and not without due interest.

Her conduct towards the Huguenots of France, who, after the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, had fled to Rochelle, was exquisitely political.

Her policy as to France.

She

NOTES.

champion for Lowe, challenged Thorne, his antagonist, ‘to plaie with him half a score blowes for pastime to the judges;’ but Thorne sullenly refused, saying, ‘he came to fight and not to plaie.’

[HOLINGSHED.]

A.D. 1573. She received their deputies with affection, supplied their wants, and protected their persons; but when the Earl of Essex and the Bishop of London proposed to raise an army for their relief by a voluntary contribution, she forbade any such proceeding, as it must have engaged her in an immediate war with a powerful neighbor. Yet she gave no encouragement to the complaints of the persecutors of the Protestants; and when the French ambassador recounted to her the sums of money lent by the Londoners to those of Rochelle, she smiled, and said, ‘that she did not believe that her subjects were so rich;’ and when he demanded that Montgomeri, the admiral of the Protestants, and other Huguenots, should be delivered up, ‘Receive,’ said Elizabeth calmly, ‘the words of your own King Henry II. to my sister Mary, in answer to a like request, “ I will be no foreign prince’s executioner.” ’

Assists
the Scot-
tish re-
gent.

With much less caution did Elizabeth proceed as to the affairs of the north. The support which she gave to the party which maintained the cause of the young James, enabled it completely to over-power the friends of Mary: unhappily Morton, the regent, a man of a harsh as well as greedy disposition, made a sanguinary use of the advantages which the English forces under Sir W. Drury, by taking the Castle of Edinburgh, had assisted him to procure. He had the cruelty to execute shamefully, in spite of Drury’s remonstrances,

the

the gallant Kirkaldie of Grange, who com- A. D. 1573.
manded the party.*

The death of Charles IX. of France, in 1574, 1574,
eased the mind of Elizabeth from half its anxiety. Charles
IX. of France
dies.
Henry III. who succeeded to the throne, both
hated and dreaded the house of Guise, and con-
sequently cared little for the interest of the un-
fortunate Mary of Scotland. That kingdom en-
joyed at this period a kind of tranquillity under
the government of Morton, whose entire† de-
pendence on the English queen, at the same time
that it confirmed his power, prevented his grati-
fying his natural and evil propensities to the ex-
tent of his wishes.

Ireland had been strangely convulsed ; but the
care of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, had re-
stored at least the appearance of submission among
the revolted chiefs.‡

Little more, indeed, could be expected on a State of
fair statement of that unhappy country's condi- Ireland.
tion : greediness, inhumanity, and bad policy,
united to keep the inhabitants in a state of barba-
rism. The laws of England, we have already
seen, were denied to them, although eagerly re-
quested, and the wretched natives, neither se-
cure in property nor life, fled to the woods and
bogs

* Melvill, p. 118, 120, &c.

† Spotswood, p. 273, 274, 275. ‡ Camden, Ann. 1571.

A. D. 1574. bogs for shelter; and looking on mankind in general, and the English in particular, as their enemies, made reprisals on every stranger who fell into their hands.

^{The people ill treated.} Besides the total neglect of their morals, the English gave another incitement to this ill-fated people to continue uncivilized. The conquest of districts was delegated to private persons. These raised soldiers at their own cost; and, where they succeeded, turned their acquisitions to their own profit: to this they frequently found the Irish customs more conducive than the English laws; and, in consequence, embracing the system which indulged most their despotism and rapine, instead of improving the natives, they became as mere barbarians as the beings whom they had subdued. [55]

^{Revenue of Ireland, &c.} The whole annual revenue of Ireland was barely six thousand pounds. To this Elizabeth most unwillingly

NOTES,

[55] The sons of the Earl of Clanricard, an originally English house, entered so far into the spirit of this system, that they put to death all the inhabitants of Athenry, although Irish, because they had begun to conform to English customs, and had a more civilized method of living than had been practised by their ancestors. [CAMDEN, HUME,

Out of all the English families settled in Ireland, that of Butler, (whence the Earls and Duke of Ormond) seems to have been the only one which was uniformly and faithfully attached to the interest of the mother country.

unwillingly added twenty thousand more. One ^{A.D. 1574.} thousand soldiers, (and sometimes in need two thousand) composed the whole military power. A force perfectly incapable of subduing a numerous and warlike race ; but rather serving to provoke the natives, and to excite those frequent insurrections which kept up and inflamed the animosity between the two nations. That Elizabeth should never have exerted the strength of England to end these troubles, appears so strange to a learned prelate of our own age, that he thinks the weak measure must have proceeded from the dictates of a crooked policy.*

Although the English queen privately supported the Protestant interest in France, and supplied the Huguenots with large sums to levy German troops, she nevertheless sent, in 1575, to congratulate the new French monarch, and to invest him with the order of the garter. Her embassy was received with great respect.

Elizabeth had at this epoch, indeed, attained to that importance in the political balance of the continent, which her father had missed through his own intemperate levity ; her brother, through his youth and inexperience ; and her sister, through blindness and bigotry.

Some writers speak of a plan formed by this politic princess to get the young king of Scots into

* Hurd's Dialogue on the reign of Elizabeth.

A. D. 1575. into her hands, which they say was disappointed by the firmness of his governor, Alexander Erskine. Had she not found enough anxiety from having Mary to take care of?

A tumult on the northern border, in which Her mag- the English were both aggressors and sufferers, manity. gave Elizabeth an opportunity about this time of shewing her magnanimity. Morton, devoted to her will, sent Carmichael, the leader of the Scots (although the injured party) to await her pleasure in London. But the daughter of Henry VIII. commended his spirited conduct, and dismissed him loaded with presents.*

It was during the year 1575, that the queen bitterly complained to her Parliament of the great remissness among magistrates in general, as to the execution of the laws: insomuch, that if no remedy were found, she should be obliged to appoint in her commissions needy and indigent persons, who, for their own interest, would attend to the distribution of justice.

1576. In 1576, the Hollanders, distressed beyond measure by the power of Spain, which they had long and gallantly resisted, entreated Elizabeth, as heiress of Philippa, queen of Edward III. to accept their sovereignty and undertake their protection.

Tempting as was this offer, the English queen declined it; she interposed however her good offices

* Camden, p. 451.

fices with Philip, although in vain ; and afterwards A. D. 1575. advanced 20,000l. to the distressed revolters.

The Commons met and gave a liberal subsidy ; but in one point they went beyond what the sovereign thought their limits. They attempted to meddle with religion, and even proposed a bill for the reformation of the church ; one puritan member, Peter Wentworth, spoke his sentiments in a bolder manner than his age had been accustomed to ; the powerful frown of the court, however, chilled these dawnings of a regular system of freedom, and the bill of reformation dwindled into a petition, which Elizabeth answered, by promising that she would direct the bishops to amend the alleged grievances.

Before the close of 1576, Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, who, by the contrivance of Leicester, had been sent to Ireland in a highly responsible situation, and yet unsupplied with proper authority, suddenly died at Dublin. The Earl of Leicester, (who almost instantly wooed and married the widow of Essex, and to whom the honest but too ingenuous Devereux was known to be an open enemy) was more than suspected of having removed his rival by poison.

The appearance of Don John of Austria in the Netherlands, as governor, disconcerted, in 1577, the economical reserve of Elizabeth. She dreaded that prince ; she knew that it was his avowed wish to wed Mary of Scotland, and to assert

A.D. 1577. assert her pretensions to the whole island ; she de-
 Elizabeth terminated now to support the revolters with vi-
 assists the gor ; she advanced to them one hundred thousand
 Dutch. pounds by way of loan ; and, before it was long,
 she consented by treaty to supply them with
 5,000 foot and one thousand horse.* At the
 same time she wrote to the king of Spain a most
 artful apology for her conduct, professing that
 she had only undertaken the protection of the
 Netherlanders, to prevent their throwing them-
 selves into the hands of France, and offering to
 withdraw her aid, if Don John and the Span-
 ish troops should be recalled. Philip imitated
 the policy of Elizabeth, and, while he professed
 a continuation of amity, attempted to excite the
 Irish to revolt.+ But the wise precautions of the
 English queen had guarded against his machina-
 tions.

London had a very narrow escape from the plague in the same year. That dreadful scourge shewed itself in the Temple ; but by the extreme vigilance of Fleetwood, the recorder, its horrors were prevented.

Oxford
Black
Assize.

Oxford was not so fortunate. Its 'Black Assize,' held in July, is fatally recorded for a sudden 'dampe' which arose, and after nearly smothering the whole court and audience, caused the death of

* Camden, p. 466.

+ Digges, p. 73.

of the judge, high-sheriff, most of the jury, and A.D. 1577; above 500 of the spectators. [56]

During 1578, Elizabeth had little to do but to reprimand those who made an ill use of the powers with which she had entrusted them. Prince Casimir, instead of raising an army of Germans to help the Dutch, had squandered * away the money which she had sent to him. He visited her in the winter, and she not only forgave him but made him a knight of the garter. To the regent of Scotland, Morton, she sent Randolph to warn him of the fate which must attend him unless he altered his manners, and rendered himself less odious to the Scots ; and particularly to the powerful Earls of Argyle and Athol. An Anjou embassy from France, proposing the Duke of Anjou (late Alençon) as a husband to Elizabeth, was kindly received; the eyes of Europe were

not

NOTES.

[56] Besides Sir Robert Bell, lord chief baron, there died D'Oyly, Babington, Wenman, Davers, Harcombe, Kyrle, Fettiplace, Greenwood, Forster, Nash, Barham, Stevens, &c. The women and children were not so much affected as the mén.

One Rowland Jenks was on his trial ‘for his seditious tongue.’ The vulgar believed that magic had a share in the event; but the discernment of Lord Bacon saw through the mist of superstition. This seems to have been the first appearance of the jail-fever in England. Its symptoms marked the most extreme putridity.

* Camden, p. 452.

A.D. 1578. not yet opened to a species of political coquetry which assisted that princess so much in her negotiations. Even the subtle Catharine di Medicis was deceived, and thought her youngest son already king of England. And Philip of Spain was so far led to suspect the designs of his brother Don John of Austria towards an union with Elizabeth, that he put to death privately one of that prince's secretaries, whom he thought the confident of a matrimonial treaty between him and that most inscrutable of sovereigns.

James of
Scots
kept in
awe by
Eliza-
beth.

To awe the young king of Scotland, who, though but twelve years of age, had begun to govern, * besides the rights of his imprisoned mother, Elizabeth found means to intimate to him, that the Lady Arabella Stuart (his cousin, by a younger brother of his grand-father) had claims on the English estates of Lenox, which James had sent to demand. If she could claim the lands, she might rival the king of Scots in his heirship to the kingdom. †.

It was in this year (1578) that the wild and enterprising spirit of the Portuguese ‡ monarch, opened a road for Philip of Spain to reach the crown of Portugal. The battle of Alcasar (in which the unfortunate Sebastian had, from motives partly

* Melvill, p. 126.

+ Camden, p. 469, 470.

‡ Camden, p. 462, &c.

partly romantic and partly fanatical, engaged and ^{A.D. 1578} lost his army[57] and his life) had nearly ex- Fall of tinguished the race of the Portuguese nobility; and ^{the Portuguese} the Sebastian.

NOTES.

[57] With the rash Sebastian fell the profligate but gallant and intrepid Thomas Stukely, born in the west of England, and deprived by his own extravagance of a decent patrimony; his person and address gained the heart of a London Alderman's well-portioned daughter. That he did not appear to advantage in family life, appears in the popular ballad:

- ‘ Make much of me dear husband, she did say.
- ‘ I’ll make much more of thee, said he,
- ‘ Than any other; verily,
- ‘ I’ll sell thy cloaths, and so I’ll go my way.’

Leaving his family he went to Rome, where passing for a person of importance, and vaunting of the ease with which he could make Ireland revolt from Elizabeth, he found means, partly by the resentment of Philip, irritated at Elizabeth for aiding his revolted subjects in the Netherlands, and partly by the ambition of the pope, whom he persuaded that he would make his nephew, Buon Compagno, king of Ireland, to raise a corps of 800 Italian gentlemen, with whom he sailed to Lisbon; where, dazzled by the projects of the heroic Sebastian, he persuaded his comrades to accompany the king of Portugal on his African enterprize, before they should attempt the conquest of Ireland; a kingdom in which the pope had already conferred on him the dignities of a marquisate and an earldom, Leinster and Wexford. The fortune of the day visibly turning against the Christian party, Stukely fell by the swords of his own men, who reproached him with having led them to destruction.

[CAMDEN, &c.

A.D. 1578: the reign of an aged priest, who succeeded to the throne, seemed only calculated to give the plots of Philip a few months, time to mature, without affording any hopes of turning them aside.

1579. The negotiations for the queen's marriage were quickened in 1579, by the arrival of Simier, an artful agent [58] sent by Catharine di Medicis; who gained such an ascendant over the counsels of Elizabeth, that even Leicester was alarmed, and intimated to the credulous, his apprehension of philtres, spells, &c.; while Simier, irritated at the absurd charge, informed the queen of Leicesters's marriage with the widow of Essex, a discovery which would have conducted the imprudent favorite to the Tower, had not the Lord Sussex* (although the favorite's avowed foe) represented to Elizabeth the illegality and impropriety of punishing any man for a legal act like matrimony. Meanwhile the dastardly Leicester dealt with a bravo, named Tudor, and bribed him to assassinate Simier. On this being spoken of, the queen publicly declared that she took the Frenchman under her especial protection.

An

NOTES.

[58] De Thou describes him thus, ‘Johannes Simieus, homo blandimentis & assentatiunculis innutritus aulicis.’

[DE TEMP. SUIS.]

* Camden, p. 471.

An affair about this time, brought forward A.D. 1579, that magnanimity which too often slept in the bosom of the daughter of Henry VIII. She was in a barge on the Thames, attended by Simier and the Vice-chamberlain Hatton, when a piece was fired from the shore,* and the ball entered a rower's arm ; he that fired was seized, convicted of treason, and brought to the gallows ; but as he persisted to the last moment in his innocence, Elizabeth ordered him to be set free : with these memorable and glorious words, ‘ That she would credit nothing against her subjects, which might not be believed against her own children.’

The French connection which the queen seemed to intend (for she probably had no real thought of it) was extremely displeasing at this period to the generality of the English, and particularly to the sectaries ; one of whom, named Stubbes, a passionate puritan, lost his right hand for publishing a pamphlet, ‘ The Gaping Gulph,’ against France and Page lose their this unpopular measure. In his work, France hands. was represented as the gulph which gaped for England and the Protestant religion. While his wrist lay on the block, he said to the spectators, ‘ My masters, if there be any among you that do love me, if your love be not in God and her Majesty, I do utterly denie your love.’ After his

* Camden, p. 471, 472.

A.D. 1579. hand was stricken off, he waved his hat with the other, crying ‘God save the queen.’ But this irrational and unnatural exertion of loyalty did not save him from a long imprisonment. Page, who printed the libel, had the same punishment as Stubbes.[59] He bore it with fortitude, and said to the people, ‘There lies the hand of a true Englishman.’*

It was at this period, that the conscious despair of making an effectual resistance, while in separate districts, to the vast forces and opulence of the cruel

NOTES.

[59] These unfortunate men were rather sacrificed to policy, and to the deference which Elizabeth chose to pay to Anjou, than to her own resentment. She could forgive a sarcasm on her own conduct. It stands on record, that a carter had been sent for to her palace to remove some goods, and had been dismissed; a second time he was bade to attend, and a second time was ordered home; ‘Now, by our Lady,’ said the blunt Englishman, slapping his hand on his thigh, ‘I see that the queen is a *woman*, as well as my wife.’ Elizabeth who stood at a window hard by, over-heard him. ‘Fye,’ said she to her maidens, ‘what a villain is this?’ She sent him three angels, however, to stop his irreverent tongue.

[BIRCH’S MEM.

Camden places the execution of Stubbes two years later, but the *Nugæ Antiquæ*, from original papers, date it in 1579. Neal, in his history of Puritans, asserts, that Stubbes became a valiant commander in the Irish wars, and did the queen good service.

* *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. iii. p. 179.

cruel Philip, excited the seven Dutch provinces to ^{A.D. 1579.} form a union against the common enemy. Their first efforts were weak and attended with little success: but a steady perseverance, directed by patriotism, and supported by public spirit, raised these mercantile warriors to such a pitch of power, that, within a century, they were able to protect that very nation from destruction which now sought their ruin. A warm remonstrance of Philip to Elizabeth, deprecating that tacit permission which she had given to the Netherlanders to sell their prizes in her harbors, accelerated the measure. The ports of England being barred against them, it was necessary for the patriots to secure an asylum some where; and the Brill, a strong fortress and haven which they found ^{The Brill taken.} means to surprize, became the nucleus of a vast marine republic.*[60]

The Irish Roman Catholics, who had been by ^{1580.} no means kindly treated by the English governors, made, in 1580, an unsuccessful struggle for independence. They were assisted by two several detachments of Spaniards sent by Philip, who also supplied

NOTES.

[60] Sir Thomas Gresham, founder of the royal Exchange and of Gresham College, died in 1579, as did Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper. Sir Thomas Bromley had the seals in his room, with the title of Lord Chancellor.

* Camden, p. 443.

A.D. 1580. supplied the revolted* with arms and ammunition for 5,000 men. The expedition was unfortunate; the Spanish ships were destroyed by Winter, an old sea officer, whose name often occurs in the annals of Elizabeth. As to the troops which had landed, Pelham, the lord deputy, with the Earl of Ormond, St. Leger, Raleigh, and other commanders, surrounded them and the rebel Irish, compelled them to yield at discretion, and left not a man of them alive to complain of their inhumanity.

The Spaniards in Ireland massacred.

Elizabeth was not quite at ease in England, The noxious seminaries of Douay, Rheims, and Rome, began to pour their missionary legions into Britain; and the sons of Ignatius Loyola, too, commenced their assaults. Two of these last, Campian and Parsons,[61] wrote with acrimony against the government. The first was taken

NOTES.

[61] Campian and Parsons had both studied at Oxford. The first had been proctor of the university, and was reckoned amiable in his disposition; but Parsons, who had been expelled from Balliol College for his licentious manners, was always rough and turbulent. His writings were scurrilous and false, beyond those of any of his contemporaries. They had both acted with uncommon insolence in point of controversy, and had even publicly challenged the Protestant clergy to a conference. Campian had published 'Decem Rationes,' in defence of his principles, a book which Dr. Whitaker had learnedly answered. [CAMDEN, &c.]

* Camden, p. 475, &c.

taken, and expiated his crime as a traitor at a gibbet; the other, Parsons, fled across the Channel; and, to the utmost of his power, stirred up new and bitter foes against his native sovereign. A.D. 1580;
English Jesuit put to death.

The growth of fanaticism, of luxury in habit, and of the buildings around the city of London, were at this period restrained (as far as fine and imprisonment could terrify) by three several proclamations. These menacing limitations time has proved to be all equally futile.

Elizabeth could not with justice complain of Philip for assisting the rebels of Ireland, while she fostered in her bosom Francis Drake, a bold marine adventurer, who, after plundering the south-west coasts of Spanish America, and taking a considerable town with twenty-three* men only, dared to cross the almost untried waves of the Pacific sea, and brought home his barges loaded with Indian bullion. Him, his royal mistress knighted, and honoured with her presence at an entertainment on board his far-travelled bark in the Thames. The Spaniard remonstrated,[62] and

NOTES.

[62] On this occasion the Spanish ambassador is thus said to have expressed himself with insolence in the character of his master:

‘ Te veto ne pergas bello defendere Belgas.

‘ Quae Dracus eripuit, nunc restituantur oportet.

‘ Quas

* Camden, p. 351.

A. D. 1580. and the queen restored some of the booty ; she stopped her hand, however, when she found that instead of being given to the persons aggrieved, the money was employed to pay the troops who warred against the Dutch in the Netherlands.

The fatal end of Morton, the regent of Scotland (tried, convicted of treason, and executed, by direction of the young king^{*}) a man devoted to her commands, as he held his authority solely under her protection, made Elizabeth spend the close of 1580 in some degree of well-grounded anxiety. She had discernment enough to see the infinite

NOTES.

‘ Quas pater evertit, jubeo te condere cellas,
‘ Religio Papæ fac restituatur ad unguem !

She instantly answered with the same spirit which she used to exert against his invasions :

‘ Ad Græcas, bone rex, fiant mandata Calendas.’

[WALPOLE.]

Imitated.

‘ No longer, queen, the Belgic rout befriend.
‘ What Drake has plunder’d, back to India send ;
‘ Thy impious father’s sacrilege repair,
‘ And bow thy sceptre to St. Peter’s chair.’

Answer.

‘ Believe, me, prince, I’ll do thy high behest,
‘ When in *one* week two Sundays stand confeſt.’

I. P. A.

* Melvill, p. 128.

infinite advantages of an union of sentiment with the councils of Scotland, and dreaded every incident which might tend to renew the connection of that important nation with France. [63]

A.D. 1580.

Her anxiety to prevent the fate of her dependent, prompted her to advance a strong body of troops towards her northern borders. These, however, she ordered to retire, when she found that the councils of James were not to be overawed at this period; and the hasty measure probably hurried on the end of the devoted regent.

It was now time that the wire-drawn farce of the French marriage should come to some conclusion. Anjou had every reason to fancy himself sure of his royal bride; she had sent to him in Flanders a present of 100,000 crowns, the matrimonial articles were settled to her mind, and a sumptuous embassy

1581.

NOTES.

[63] Besides two considerable earthquakes, and ‘wonders in the air,’ seen in Wilts and Cornwall, the year 1580 ended not without more prodigies. A monstrous child was born in Huntingdonshire; and in Sussex a boy, eleven years old, after lying entranced ten days, became a severe censor of manners, and reclaimed many profligates, particularly ‘a servinge man, whom he sharplie tawnted for his great and monstrous ruffes, telling him that “ it were better for him to put on sackcloth and ashes, than to prank up himself like the Divell’s darlinge;” whereon the servinge man wept, and took a knife and rent the band from his necke, and cut it in pieees.’

[HOLINGSHED.]

A.D. 1581. embassy was sent from France to assist at the Anjoude-wedding: Anjou himself arrived now in England, and was received by the queen with visible Eliza-beth. pleasure. She placed on his finger a valuable ring as a pledge of her love, and took up the pen to sign the marriage deeds, but she proceeded no farther.* Walsingham, and all her ministers, remonstrated on the impropriety of the match, and her maids of honour spent the night in weeping and wailing round her bed. She had now discovered that she was twenty-five years older than her lover, that she should never produce him any children, and that the English would not bear that a Frenchman should wear even their matrimonial crown. But these sagacious motives, although urged by the inconstant sovereign, and seconded by her chamberlain the Lord Hatton, had no effect on the deluded Prince. He dashed the ring on the floor; and loudly cursing the caprice of Elizabeth and the ruggedness of her people, he took his way soon afterwards to Flanders, where his ill-concerted plans of despotism soon rendered him odious to the people who had invited his coming.

Her mysterious conduct.

It is still a mystery why the English queen should have worn the useless masque of affection so long and have put this wanton insult on a suitor so respectable in his connections. Many are of opinion, that an uncontrollable passion for Anjou

* Camden, p. 486.

Anjou carried her to such absurd lengths, [64] in ^{A.D. 1581.} spite of that policy which would have made her break off the negotiations by degrees. Had France been freed from civil broils, the queen might

NOTES.

[64] The following expressive lines from the Ashm. Musæum MS. 6969 (781) and signed ‘Eliza Regina upon Mount Zeurs departure,’ may serve to shew the state of Elizabeth’s heart, and the strength of her passions at fifty-two.

I.

I grieve, yet dare not shew my discontent,
I love, and yet am forc’d to seem to hate;
I dote, but dare not say I never meant,
I seem stark mute, but inwardly do prate.
I am, and not—I freeze, and yet am burn’d,
Since from myself my other self I turn’d.

II.

My care is like my shadow in the sun,
Follows me flying; flies when I pursue it;
Stands and lies by me; does what I have done;
This too familiar care doth make me rue it.
No means I find to rid him from my breast,
Till by the end of things it be supprest.

III.

Some gentler passions steal into my mind,
(For I am soft and made of melting snow)
Or be more cruel, love, or be more kind,
Let me or float or sink, be high or low.
Or let me live with some more sweet content,
Or die, and so forget what love e’er meant.

A.D. 1581. might have drawn a cruel war on her subjects by this worse than fantastical conduct. Even after this breach, Elizabeth wished to stand well with the prince whom she had deceived. She detained him some time by a variety of diversions; and when he would depart, accompanied him as far as Canterbury* on his return to the Netherlands; shewed him ‘hir greate shippes’ at Chatham, promising him the use of them whenever he should need them; and accommodated him with a large sum of money.+ Her most favored courtiers and domestics had, it is true, wearied her with arguments against the union, and she herself, when she dropt the pen (meant to sign the articles) asked her council harshly, ‘If they were not conscious that this marriage would be her death?’ An odd question, which has given rise to as odd conjectures. [65] After all, a letter to the queen from

NOTES.

[65] In the memoirs of Sir James Melvill, we find an anecdote almost too absurd to be repeated. He was told, he says, that Henry VIII. having ‘enquired of a diviner the fate of his children, was informed that his son should not live long, that Mary should wed a Spaniard, and Elizabeth should out-live her sister, and marry either a Scot or a Frenchman, so that strangers would be introduced to the English throne. Whereupon Henry endeavored to poison both the princesses; and this not succeeding, he made them both be declared

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 792.

+ Stowe, p. 690.

from Sir Philip Sidney, preserved in the Sidney ^{A.D. 1581.} papers, and filled with the most rational and forcible arguments against the connection, had probably more effect on her penetrating mind than any other circumstance.

That anxiety concerning the affairs of Scotland, which, since the death of Morton, had disturbed the bosom of the English queen, was lessened, in 1582, on her finding that the ‘Raid of Ruthven’ had reinstated the Protestant lords in their authority.* The ill-starred Mary, too, whose spirit began to be broken by her long confinement and consequent ill health, seemed now to have abandoned every wish to reign, and only to aspire after that moderate share of liberty against which, unhappily for her, the dearest interests of Elizabeth militated. She however wrote, on hearing of the late incident at her son’s court, to conjure the English queen not to abandon the forlorn James to the caprice of his disorderly peers. The letter was written with great spirit and good sense, but unluckily abounded with such acrimonious expressions

Mary's
letter to
Elizabeth.

NOTES.

declared bastards, hoping that so their succession would be barred. Moreover, that the poison had rendered each of them incapable of having children, of which Mary had been so well convinced that, in revenge, she had privately disinterred the bones of her father, and burnt them.’

* Melvill, p. 129, 132. Strype’s Ann. vol. iii. p. 79.

A.D. 1582. expressions concerning the treatment herself had met with, that it produced no good effect whatever* on the mind of Elizabeth.

That artful sovereign (who knew the consequence of every movement in Scotland, and whose penetration had discovered the consequence to which James was rising by dint of situation and some share of abilities) had now sent a splendid commission with two ambassadors, Gary and Bowes, to reconcile the Monarch to his present dependent situation ; while James, a politician by nature, accepted the compliment, and made a merit with Elizabeth of treating with *civility* those reverend demagogues, who, in the plenitude of their power over the minds of the people, would have smiled at his *resentment*.

A negotiation with Denmark, which, although it procured for the king the order of the garter, had not the wished-for effect of a relaxation in the duty levied on all merchant ships which passed the Sound, closed the transactions of 1582.

1583. It was not without great difficulty that Elizabeth, in 1583, could parry an affecting application from her royal captive ; who now addressed her in the most persuasive terms, not only on her own behalf, but on that of her son ; who, she still alleged, was held as a prisoner by the Scottish nobles.

* Camden, p. 489.

nobles. A new negotiation on behalf of Mary* A.D. 1583. ensued ; and Elizabeth even ventured to consent to her release and restoration to sovereign authority on certain conditions; conscious that the Lords of Scotland, influenced by the clergy, (who dreaded her abilities and abhorred her religion) would never agree to receive her again as their queen on any terms whatever. But the unfortunate Mary, now too much broken in health and spirit even to wish for the restoration of her crown, at once yielded to her destiny ; and made over to her son James every right and title which she might be supposed still to retain as to Scottish royalty. This declaration she caused to be effectually made known to all the powers of Europe.

Towards the close of 1583, the lords who had kept James in custody having[†] been, by a new revolution, forced to take refuge with Elizabeth, she sent her secretary, Walsingham, partly to speak on their behalf, and still more to examine into the character and councils of the young northern prince ; and from the date of that acute observer's return, it has been thought that her conduct to the son of her hapless prisoner was marked by an increase of attention and respect.[‡]

Ireland

* Camden, p. 491. + Ibid. p. 482.

‡ Melvill, p. 293. Jeb. vol. ii. p. 536.

A.D. 1583.

Sir John
Perrot
restores
quiet to
Ireland.

Ireland had its troubles at this period ; but the spirited deputy, Sir John Perrot, (the queen's natural brother) who joined to great valor and some ferocity, strict regard to justice, reduced the island to tranquillity. The Lord Baltinglass was driven away, the Earl of Desmond was slain, and his forfeited lands mostly [66] bestowed on his loyal relation, the Earl of Ormond.

An arbit-
rary Ec-
clesiasti-
cal Court
establis-
hed.

The Primate Grindal dying this year, his place was supplied by Dr. Whitgift, a divine of a very different turn of mind. His first exertions were directed against the puritans, and, to curb them, he persuaded the queen to form a 'High Commission-Court,' which should take cognizance of heresies and innovations, administer oaths, search into the conduct of private families, and should even rack, torture, fine and imprison, without any check on their authority. The Puritan representatives remonstrated and petitioned against this accurate type of the Inquisition, but totally in vain.

The

NOTES.

[66] Some were sold to greedy English adventurers, who, arriving at the ceded lands in shoals, almost forced the loyal Irish to rebellion, by driving them, as well as the rebels, from their estates. The stern justice of the lord deputy Perrot stopped this iniquitous proceeding; but, at the same time, planted against himself a masqued battery, which, within a few years, occasioned his destruction.

The enterprizing spirit of Sir Humphrey Gil- A.D. 1583.
bert, a western knight, prompted him this year
to sell his estate, and expend the produce in colo-
nizing the barren soil of Newfoundland. The
project failed, and the active Sir Humphrey was
drowned on his return to England in pursuit of
reinforcements.

It was about this time that one Somervile, a Roman Catholic gentleman of Warwickshire, maddening with bigotry, threatened the life of Elizabeth. Frantic as he was, his evidence occa-
sioned the execution of Edward Arderne, his father-in-law, although universally thought innocent. Somervile slew himself in prison. The wife, the daughter, and the domestic priest of Arderne, were also condemned; but had favor shewn to them.

Such frequent changes having happened in the administration of Scotland, Elizabeth found it easier to gain the successive ministers as they came to power, than to support any particular party. According to this new system of policy, in 1584, she brought over to her interest, by means of an artful emissary,* the Earl of Arran and the Master of Gray; two profligate but accomplished favorites of James, who had already shewn that marked partiality to grace and elegance of person

1584.
Elizabeth
bribes the
favorites
of James.

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* Melvill, p. 157, &c.

A.D. 1584. which formed so distinguished a feature in his subsequent life. By means of these worthless Discoverers courtiers, she penetrated the interior recesses of the designs of Mary. the unhappy Mary ; who, thinking Gray her friend, revealed to him those plots which her despair of any favor from Elizabeth had prompted her to cherish. In consequence of this, Francis Throgmorton, a gentleman of Cheshire, after signing an ample confession, (which in vain he wished to retract) suffered death on a gallows ; while the Lord Paget and others sought their safety by crossing the Channel. An association was now formed, and signed by almost the whole of the nobility and gentry of England, to support Elizabeth against every plot ; to revenge her if any evil should betide her ; and to exclude from the throne any one who might abet such enterprize.

It is an affecting circumstance, that the distressed Mary, who foresaw that this new bond of union would finally bring about her destruction, and whose confinement was now more severe, entreated permission to join her name* to those of the associators ; she proposed at the same time such conditions for her future conduct, and made such professions of amity, joined with such pathetic entreaties for a little more liberty, that the heart which dictated a positive refusal of all she asked,

* Camden, p. 499, 501.

asked, must have been either convinced of her ^{A.D. 1584.} insincerity, or entirely destitute of sensibility.

About this time Elizabeth, alarmed at the general cry against her severity, openly questioned her judges as to their treatment of Roman Catholics and others, charged with treasonable proceedings, and they answered not disingenuously.* ‘Campion,’ they said, ‘had indeed been stretched,’ (the term used for racking) ‘but with such moderation, that he could walk immediately afterwards. Another criminal, one Bryan, had been kept without nourishment until he gave a sample of his writing, which had been in vain demanded.’ Elizabeth absolved the judges, but ordered the rack to be used no more, and released seventy priests who had been imprisoned on suspicion. This lenity was the more meritorious, as another plot, which was connected with an invasion of England by foreign powers, was discovered at this period. Creighton, a Jesuit, pursued on his passage to Scotland by pirates, tore the schedule of the conspiracy in pieces and flung them into the sea. The fragments, however, were pursued, collected together, and presented by one Wade to the ministers of Elizabeth.

Torture
abolished.

As Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador,[†] had been deeply engaged in every cabal against the

* Holingshed, p. 1357.

† Camden, p. 498. Holingshed, p. 1357.

A.D. 1584. English queen, he was examined before the council; and having returned insolent answers to the questions which were proposed, he was abruptly ordered to depart; and Philip refusing to send ^{War with Spain inevitable.} any other agent, or to hear any explanation, a war appeared inevitable between England and Spain.

The situation of Elizabeth was now extremely critical; many of her own subjects, led by mistaken motives of religion, and excited by the active and artful missionaries of the Flemish universities, were ready to join in conspiracies against her; unaided by any ally, she was on the point of engaging in a contest with the most potent, opulent, and subtle prince which Europe had ever known.^[67] Philip could at this period command

NOTES.

[67] So vast was the extent of Philip's empire, so great his store of gold, (then scarce in Europe) and such was his naval and commercial strength, that the king of Sweden, when he heard of Elizabeth's engaging in war against him, pronounced that she 'had taken the diadem from her head, and had left it to the arbitration of chance.' [CAMDEN.]

Besides this potent competitor, she had reason to dread the incessant endeavors of the English exiles to raise enemies against her, even among her own domestics. Books and writings were, under the inspection of these virulent foes, sedulously dispersed throughout the kingdom, in which every endeavor was used to excite her people to destroy her. Her very maids of honor were particularly admonished to treat her as Judith did Holofernes, and promised glory in this world and immortality in the next, in recompence for a deed so illustrious. [IBID.]

mand the assistance of the German empire; he A.D. 1584.
possessed (besides Spain and the Indies) Portugal
and her important colonies: his naval strength
was superior to that of all the rest of Europe; the
Netherlands (whose gallant defender the Prince of
Orange had been just then assassinated) seemed to
be prostrate at his feet; and France, his old and
dreaded enemy, from the impolitic suggestions of
narrow bigotry, rather favored than opposed the
ambitious plans of the Spanish tyrant. In that
country the Guises, whose power, grounded on
popular fanaticism, was unbounded, had formed,
or rather renewed, a formal covenant, styled 'The
League,' by which Henry of Navarre, the next
heir, on failure of the house of Valois, was ex-
cluded from the throne, if he should continue to
profess the reformed religion.

It was at this awful crisis that Elizabeth, con- 1585.
vinced at length of the king of Spain's inveterate Vigor of
enmity, and determined to shew herself as vigor- Eliza-
ous in pursuing, as she had been cautious in mea-
adopting measures of hostility, began instantly to
attack Philip in his most vulnerable ports. The
enterprizing spirit of Drake was instantly called
into action.* With twenty stout vessels under
Christopher Carlisle, and 2,300 volunteer lands-
men, (besides sailors) he sailed to the West
Indies,

* Holingshed, p. 1401.

A. D. 1585. Indies, reduced St. Jago, the capital of the Cape Verd Islands, on his passage, took the town of St. Domingo in Hispaniola,[68] and Cartagena on the continent of South America; then, after ravaging the coast of Florida, returned to England with the loss of 700 men by disease, but enriched by vast treasures, and accompanied by the poor remains of a colony which Sir W. Raleigh had endeavored to settle in Virginia.

Succor sent to the Dutch.

To the Netherlands (almost sunk in despair by the loss of their brave defender, and in vain offering their sovereignty to Henry of France and to Elizabeth*) the queen of England sent a gallant army, among whom rode a troop of 500 gentlemen of the first consideration: but the management of this respectable force was unhappily entrusted to the most worthless of favorites, the Earl of Leicester; who, conscious of his total want of courage and abilities, endeavored to supply the deficiency by low, pernicious cunning. The states, meaning to oblige Elizabeth, gave him a power almost dictatorial, but recalled it on receiving a sharp

NOTES.

[68] Those who understood Latin were much diverted with the vanity of Philip II. who had ordered to be placed beneath his arms in the town-hall at St. Domingo, a horse springing from a globe with this motto, ‘ Non sufficit orbis,’ ‘ The world is too small for my ambition.’ [CAMDEN.]

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 801, 802.

sharp reprimand from the queen;* who though she loved Leicester, dreaded his unprincipled ambition. Flushing and the Brill, two strong towns, were delivered into the hands of the English, as sureties for the reimbursement of the queen's expences at the close of the war.

The Huguenots, hard pressed in France, were not neglected by Elizabeth. She supplied the Prince de Condé with a large sum of money, and lent him ten ships of war, with which he effected the relief of Rochelle, the strong hold of the French Protestants.

In the mean while Wootton, a man of the most insinuating turn, entertaining in conversation, and skilled in dress and sporting, was sent by the English queen to reside at the court of James of Scotland, to gain his favor and inspect his conduct. It is even said, that he was to endeavor at seizing the person of the Scottish monarch, with a view to convey him to England;† if so, James shewed great sense in forgiving the unjust machination, and in entering very soon afterwards (in spite of the remonstrances of France) into the most rational and political treaty ever made between the sister nations. It was an alliance offensive and defensive, and may be said to have secured to the king of Scots the affection of the English,

* Camden, p. 511.

+ Melvill, p. 167, 168.

A. D. 1558. English, and the succession to their sovereignty. The regard of James was assuredly much conciliated by an annual pension of 5000l. equivalent to the Lenox estate, and granted at this period.

The extensive enterprizes of Elizabeth in foreign lands, should seem to imply that all was peace at home. It was not so. Parry,[69] a member

NOTES.

[69] We have in Holingshed what he styles an Epigram on Parry. It is long, but, on account of the strangeness of the metre, we will read a few stanzas of it.

' William Parry, was archbishop Harry, by his name ;
From the ale-house to the gallows, grew his fame.
It was pittie, one so wittie, male-content;
Leaving reason, should to treason be so bent.
But his gifts were but shifts, void of grace ;
And his braverie, was but knavery, vile and base.
Wales did beare him, France did sweare him to the pope ;
Venice wrought him, London brought him to the rope.
Wherewith strangled, and then mangled, being dead,
Poles supporters of his quarters, and his head.

Parry was a Doctor of laws, and a new convert to the Roman Catholic faith. He owned that he had been excited to this attempt by a book, the work of Cardinal Allen, written to extol the merit of slaying excommunicated princes; and by a plenary indulgence and remission of his sins.

[STATE TRIALS.]

Parry had always spoken violently in the House in favor of the Roman Catholics, and particularly had signalized himself against a bill which proscribed the Jesuits. ' It was full,' he said, ' of blood, danger, despair, and terror.' [D'EWES.]

member of the Commons, being convicted of an ^{A. D. 1585.} intention to assassinate the queen, suffered the death of a traitor; Arundel, son to the unfortunate Duke of Norfolk, seeking to fly the realm, was sent to the Tower, where Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, had just shot himself, either conscious of guilt, [70] or dreading the prejudices of his judges.

The penal laws which were, in consequence of ^{Severe} these events, enacted, did little honour to the candor of the age. Severe, indeed were these ordinances. Jesuits and Popish priests became guilty of treason if not gone from England in forty days from the passing of the act, or if ever returning; and to harbour or relieve them was felony. The public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion was, by the same act, totally suppressed. Nor, when it appears that fifty priests were hanged, and as many banished, within the next ten years, will it be easy to persuade the world that this was not a persecution on a religious account. Yet religion had only a relative share in it. Elizabeth was no bigot; it was her own safety and that of the realm to which she attended.

The

NOTES.

[70] Mr. Pennant gives another reason: ‘The b—h,’ exclaims the earl, ‘shall not have my estate;’ and ‘on June 21, 1585, shot himself with a pistol loaden with three bullets.’

[OF LONDON.]

A. D. 1585. The rising spirit of the English Commons must be recorded before 1585 has passed away. Anthony Kirke, who brought a summons from the Star-chamber to one of the members, was imprisoned by order of the House ; nor was he set free until he had submitted and asked pardon.

Ireland was, in 1585, disturbed by two commotions ; but the alacrity of Sir John Perrot not only quelled the insurgents, but by destroying some thousands of the Hebridian Scots (the constant fomenters of revolt in the northern districts) in some degree ensured future quiet.

1586. In gratitude for Elizabeth's assistance, the Dutch still continued to load the worthless Leicester with honor and powers ; of these, that intriguing earl made so bad a use, and so perplexed the affairs of the Netherlands, that, before the close of 1586, the English army was become a burthen instead of a protection to the country ; and at length, murmurs sounded so forcibly in the General's ear, that he found it necessary to repair to the court of London, where the favor of the partial Elizabeth always afforded him a sanctuary. The gallant Sir Philip Sidney had, indeed, supported the honor of his country by his valor and humanity ; but he fell before Zutphen ;* and the bravery of Norreys, and of the English soldiers in general, only made the dastardly conduct of Leicester appear the more glaringly odious.

Leicester
hated
abroad.

It

* Stowe, p. 737, 739.

It was about this time that the working of mere female spleen in the thoughtless Mary, sharpened the dagger of the English queen, and pointed it against her bosom. Disgusted with her keeper, the Countess of Shrewsbury, she attempted to ruin her interest by a method which would, at the same time, lower the vanity of her rival to the dust. She wrote to Elizabeth a letter,* acquainting her with what the Lady Shrewsbury had reported concerning her person and behavior : 'That she had promised marriage, and granted her favors to an anonymous person ; also to Simier the French agent, to the Duke of Anjou, and to Hatton, whom she had disgusted with her fondness. That the countess had added several odious particulars about her person, in some degree inconsistent with the above tales. Her intolerable conceit was next, as Mary averred, the subject of Shrewsbury's satire ; and then her infernal temper, which had provoked her to beat a lady, named Scudamore, so violently as to break her finger ; and cut another across the hand with a knife.' The ill-judging captive proceeded to recapitulate many other most provoking calumnies, and dispatched the fatal packet to the woman who already hated her, and dreaded her ; and who had the power of life and death in her hands. Those who know the workings of the human heart

Ill-judged letter from Mary to Eliza-

* Murden's State Papers, p. 558.

A.D. 1586. heart will unite in thinking that this letter proved a death-warrant to the impolitic writer.

Other circumstances, however, concurred at this period to hasten the melancholy doom of the Scottish queen. Anthony Babington, a young gentleman of Derbyshire, inspired with fanatical zeal to effect a change in the religion and government of his country, had joined with several men of family and fortune in a plot to assassinate Elizabeth. They had been excited to this conspiracy by the exhortations of Dr. W. Gifford, and others of the Rhemish seminary. An eccentric species of ambition tempted seven of the chief plotters to have their portraits taken in one picture, with a mysterious motto, ‘ Quorsum alio properantibus ?’* This picture was shewn to Elizabeth, who knew Barnwell, one of the group, as he had been with her about a business for the Lord Kildare. Soon after this view of his portrait, she met him, and stedfastly viewing him, and recognizing the resemblance, said sternly to the Captain of her guard, ‘ Am I not well taken care of, that have not a man in my company who wears a sword ?’

The vigilant subtlety of Walsingham detected the whole contrivance ; in consequence, Babington, with thirteen of his associates, (seven of whom had pleaded guilty) suffered as traitors. This led

to

* Camden p. 516.

to a greater event. It had appeared clearly that ^{A.D. 1586.} Mary knew and approved of the general conspiracy; and by the deposition of her two secretaries, Nairne and Curle, made without torture, there was every reason to think that she was no stranger to the design on the life of her rival in empire. An intercepted letter, written in cyphers by the captive princess, in which she acknowledged the necessity of destroying Elizabeth, put the matter out of doubt; and the fears of the English ministers, who knew what must be their fate if Mary ever should reign, combined with the united sensations of resentment, dread, and jealousy, in the heart of Elizabeth, conspired to fix the doom of the captive [71] queen. Forty peers and privy-councillors were immediately commissioned* to try that hapless lady, not by any common statute against treason, but by an act which had been passed in 1585, probably with a view to the present event.

Mary,

NOTES.

[71] There were not wanting those who advised Elizabeth to make away with Mary by poison. Leicester, who scrupled nothing, is even said to have argued, but in vain, with Walsingham on the subject. Sir Drue Drury and Sir Amias Paulet, keepers of the unfortunate queen, were, it is said, tampered with; but although, as rigid Puritans, they abhorred and dreaded her, they yet spurned at the proposal of murther.

[SPOTISWOOD, CAMDEN.]

Elizabeth herself is reported to have called Sir Amias ‘a precise dainty fellow,’ for his honest scruples.

* Melvill, p. 172.

A.D. 1586.

Mary, who had first spurned at the commission, was induced by the insinuating eloquence of Hatton* (now Lord Chancellor) to plead; although with a lofty protestation of that court's incompetence to pass judgment on the conduct of a sovereign princess.

Trial of
Mary.

At her trial she denied not her conspiring with foreign powers, her assuming the title of queen of England, nor her having promised to transfer her rights in both realms to Philip of Spain, unless her son James should become a Roman Catholic. It was indeed proved, that, after taxing him with disobedience, she had threatened that the earldom of Darnley should be all his portion. But she refused to acknowledge, that she was concerned in conspiring against the life of Elizabeth. As to the evidence of her secretary Curle, she said he was honest, but weak; and that Nairne had imposed on him by imitating her hand and cypher. She wished to have been confronted with these two witnesses: but such was not the common practice of trials for treason in the sixteenth century.

When the Lord Arundel was mentioned, 'Alas,' cried Mary, with genuine tears of affection, 'how much have the noble family of Howard suffered for my sake!' In another part of her trial, she accused Walsingham of forging, or causing to

* Camden, p. 521

be forged, a letter to her disadvantage. Then ^{A.D. 1586.} Walsingham rose, and in a solemn* and affecting speech vindicated his own character, in this and in every other instance of his active duty to Elizabeth. Mary appeared satisfied with his defence, promised to think well of his conduct, and demanded of him equal candor as to her own. Nothing indeed that the betrayed queen projected was hid from her acute investigator, Maud; one of his spies was admitted to all her correspondences. One Polly, and Giffard a priest, whom the ill-fated lady trusted with her letters written in cypher, carried them all to Philips, a dexterous decyphering; who, after copying the contents, took them to Gregory, an artist whose business it was to reseal each letter, and send it on as directed. In fine, sentence of death was passed on the royal ^{Her con-} prisoner; [72] the Parliament confirmed the award; ^{demna-} ^{tion.} and the generality of the Scots, as well as the English, looked forward to the death of Mary, as to the point on which the existence of the reformed religion depended. The queen, long inured to ill-fortune, received her doom with composure; but was much hurt by that failure of respect which she experienced after her sentence.

NOTES.

[72] De Thou candidly remarks, that several of the commissioners were Roman Catholics. ‘*Inter quos fuere nonnulli majorum religioni addicti.*’

* Camden, p. 523.

A.D. 1586.

tence. Her state-canopy was taken from her, and her keepers approached her without ceremony, and with their heads covered. Concerning this ungenerous treatment and other matters, she wrote an affecting letter to Elizabeth. She had no answer. Perhaps the letter was never delivered.*

Before the close of 1586, the assizes at Exeter proved fatal to many men of note; particularly to Sir John Chichester, Sir Arthur Basset, and Sir Bernard Drake; who, with many other gentlemen, fell by the jail distemper, occasioned by the dirty and infectious clothes of the prisoners. This deadly disease, after carrying off eleven of the jury, and many of the inferior people, spread itself into the country, and kept its ground for many months among the lower ranks.

1587.
Intercessions on behalf of Mary.

No sooner was the event of Mary's trial known to the courts of Europe, than intercessions in her favor beset the English queen; who, at this delicate juncture, either felt, or affected to feel, great anxiety for the state of her affairs. She was often found in a studious posture repeating sentences of caution, such as 'Aut fer, aut feri. Ne feriare, feri.'

Anglicè—'Let dread of harm thy anger quicken;
' Strike quickly—or thou wilt be stricken.'

Sincerity, however, did not always accompany these remonstrances, and Henry III. of France,

who

* Spotiswood, p. 354.

who abhorred the Guises and all their connections, ^{A.D. 1587.} is supposed, by the channel of his ambassador Bellievre, [73] to have encouraged Elizabeth to a deed, which he wished to be thought solicitous to prevent. James of Scotland, indeed, ventured to send a harsh and threatening message to the queen, by Keith a new ambassador, on behalf of his mother. At first, the daughter of the Eighth Henry foamed with passion at the insult; but recollecting herself, she sent for the envoy Gray, (who is said to have whispered ‘a dead woman bites not’) and gave him such lessons for his conduct that, on his return to James, by playing on his timidity, his poverty, his ambition, and his indolence, he re-instated the queen of England in his good ‘graces, and the oppressed mother was thought of no more. To this acquiescence, a letter drawn up by Walsingham, and sent to

Maitland,

NOTES.

[73] Yet the French ambassador made a long speech in favor of Mary, in which he cited examples drawn from the Grecian and the Roman history. ‘But’ says an eminent historian, ‘as Elizabeth was neither an Alexander nor an Augustus, his harangue made little impression on her.’ Nor had a menace which he uttered a month afterwards, viz. ‘That France would resent the execution of Mary as a general insult on crowned heads,’ a better effect. ‘Have you orders to use such language?’ said the queen. On his answering, ‘Yes;’ she desired him to write down what he had said by authority, and said that she would send an ambassador to his master, who should explain the reason of her conduct.

[CARTE.

A.D. 1587. Maitland, secretary and chief minister to the young and timid monarch, greatly contributed. In this performance, every argument which justice or policy could present to engage the king of Scots to keep peace with Elizabeth, is digested and brought forward; the decided inferiority of his force; the incapacity of France, distracted by a civil war, to help him; the extreme danger of accepting aid from the ambitious and designing Philip; and the certain failure of his hopes of succeeding to the English crown, if he should take part now with the foes of England. Lastly, it affirmed, that the strong and earnest solicitations which James had offered on behalf of Mary had hitherto endeared him to the English people, and had strengthened his interest; but that one step farther would ruin all his expectations, and render him detestable to the people he wished to govern.

Herinatred-
pidity and
death. On the 7th of February, 1587, was the unfortunate Mary of Scotland brought to the block, at eight o'clock in the morning. In that awful conjuncture, she displayed a fortitude and a decency which would have honored a matron of Rome; and, to the moment of her death, united the majesty of a queen with the meekness of a martyr.

The Earls of Shrewsbury and Kent carried to the hapless lady the warrant for her death. Worn with sickness, confinement, and distress, she seems to have looked on this summons rather as a relief,

lief, than as an addition to her woes. She was A.D. 1587.
unkindly denied a confessor, nor could she have received the sacrament according to her own faith, had she not had the precaution, long before, to provide herself with a hoste consecrated by Pope Pius, which she had preserved through all her troubles. Eagerly did she catch at an expression of Kent, ‘That her *death* would be the *life* of Protestantism;’ for this, she thought, made her death appear a martyrdom. ‘Her religion,’ she said, ‘was her real and only crime.’ She divided her wardrobe among her servants, and even deigned to excuse herself to them for not adding to her present the magnificent habit in which she went to her death; ‘but I must,’ said she, ‘appear in a dress becoming such a solemnity.’ It was not without many entreaties, that she could get permission for six of her servants to attend at her death. She was even forced to remind the earls that she was ‘cousin to Elizabeth, descended from Henry VII. a married queen of France, and an anointed sovereign of Scotland.’ She refused the religious assistance of the Dean of Peterborough, and persisted in her adoration of the crucifix, from which the Earl of Kent with ill-placed zeal would have dissuaded her. The unutterable agonies of her servants she tenderly repressed, telling them that she had answered for the firmness of their behavior. To her son she sent a tender and conciliatory message by the

A.D. 1587. weeping Melvill. It was her hard lot to have her last exercises of devotion disturbed by the fanaticism of the busy dean, who persisted in teasing her to save her soul by changing her religion. The answer which she made was steady and calm, and the ill-judging bigot was at length silenced by the earls, who bade him content himself with silent orisons for the queen's conversion. Having prayed [74] for the church, for her son, and for the prosperity and long life of Elizabeth,* the intrepid Mary uncovered her neck and smiled at her own dilatoriness. ‘She was not,’ she cheerfully

NOTES.

[74] Immediately before her execution, she repeated the following Latin prayer, composed by herself:

O Domine Deus, speravi in te !

O care mi Jesu, nunc libera me !

In durâ catena, in miserâ pæna, desidero te :

Languendo, gemiendo, & genu flectendo,

Adoro, imploro, ut liberes me !

Paraphrased.

In this last solemn and tremendous hour,
My Lord, my Savior, I invoke thy power !
In the sad pangs of anguish, and of death,
Receive, O Lord, thy suppliant's parting breath !
Before thy hallowed cross she prostrate lies,
O hear her prayers ! commiserate her sighs.
Extend the arms of mercy and of love,
And bear her to thy peaceful realms above !

[ANECDOTES OF DISTINGUISHED PERSONS.

* Jeb. vol. ii. p. 301.

fully said, ‘accustomed to undress before so much company.’ A loud burst of groans and sobs proclaimed the feelings of those who stood around ; she comforted and blessed them ; then serenely laid her head on the fatal block, and two strokes, at least, were used in severing her neck. Her body was not at first treated with due respect. It was afterwards interred splendidly at Peterborough, whence James, in 1612, removed it to Westminster Abbey. Of the long epitaph inscribed on her tomb, one line shall appear, as it is strikingly comprehensive :

‘ Jure Scotos, thalamo Francos, spe possidet Anglos.

Imitated.

‘ Scotland she claims, espouses France, and hopes for England’s crown.’

I. P. A.

Thus perished, in the 45th year of her age and the 19th of her captivity, the fair and unfortunate Mary. If perfection was not her lot, yet few in her place, perhaps, would have escaped the errors into which she fell ; and had she met from Darnley a proper return for that tender affection which gave him herself and her crown, she would probably have shone as the most amiable, as she indisputably was the most lovely, sovereign of the age she lived in. Her person was undoubtedly beautiful, and she had graced it with every accomplishment which the most elegant court in Europe could bestow. Her hair had been auburn,

A.D. 1587. but was become gray, and she now wore false curls. Her temper, which was naturally gay, supported its vivacity almost to the last ; but being at length soured by incessant calamity, it tempted her to write reproachful letters, which increased her hardships and accelerated her catastrophe. The remaining part of her character is left to be gathered from the history of her most unfortunate passage through life.

Conduct
of Eliza-
beth cen-
sured.

And now, whatever may be said to excuse Elizabeth for the imprisonment and death of her hapless competitor on the score of state-necessity, and still more on that of saving her subjects from seeing the fires of Smithfield renewed by the bigotry of a second Mary, no apology can be made for the wretched farce which she acted after that event; for her loud laments; for her appeals to heaven that she meant not the death of her beloved sister; nor, lastly, for her unjust and inhuman treatment of the worthy Davison, * her secretary, who had carried that death-warrant which Elizabeth had signed; and who, although he had strictly obeyed her orders, was cruelly fined and long imprisoned, on the poor pretence of his having forestalled her commands. Nor is it, by any means, a sufficient reason for this behavior to a faithful servant, to say, that it was meant to give James a plausible apology for his continued

* Biog. Brit. Art. Davison.

nued amity with Elizabeth. That discerning but parsimonious sovereign, who knew the extreme necessities of the Scottish king, * might have increased the pension of James, and saved her blameless dependent. †

A.D.1587.
That attachment to a worthless favorite which disgraced the reign of Elizabeth, was now put to a severe trial. The conduct of Leicester in Holland had been uniformly treacherous, dastardly, and treasonable. Governors appointed by him, (York and Stanley in particular) had sold to the Spaniards the forts entrusted to their care ; each town in Holland had become a scene of intrigue ; and a spirit of discontent, fomented by this ambitious minion, had almost disunited those provinces whose union alone could preserve their existence as a nation. The Dutch told their wrongs aloud, and Lord Buckhurst was sent to examine and report the truth. He returned to the queen with ample evidence of Leicester's bad conduct and worse intentions. He found the favorite in possession of Elizabeth's ear, and both he and Sir John Norreys were disgraced for telling of Leicester's enormities ; while that odious minion revisited Holland in triumph, and again began his career of turbulence and treason. However, it was not long before evidence of his having plotted

* Strype, vol. iii. p. 377.

† Camden, p. 536. Strype, vol. iii. p. 370.

A.D. 1587. plotted to seize and imprison Barneveldt, and thirteen more of the first persons in the country, was brought forward; and this charge, which was too well grounded even for the partial ear of Elizabeth to resist, obliged her to recall that worthless minion from the Netherlands, and to send the Lord Willoughby to take the command [75] of a turbulent and ill-disciplined army.

Leicester recalled.

Puritan
members
imprisoned.

It was not only on the continent that Leicester sowed divisions; he was (unknown to his queen) a most active protector of the Puritans at home. Instigated by him, as is supposed, four of the most rigid members of Parliament presented to the house a New Directory for Prayer, very different from the regular Liturgy. A proceeding so unpleasant to Elizabeth, that she sent the reformers to the Tower, and kept them there for some time in custody. The house, though uneasy at this stretch

NOTES.

[75] Leicester, when obliged to leave the Netherlands, presented to each of his partisans a golden medal; on one side was his own face, on the other a shepherd's dog leaving his sheep, but looking back after them. The motto was, ' Invitus desero,' ' I leave them unwillingly:' And over the sheep was engraved, ' Non gregem sed ingratos,' ' not the flock but the unfaithful.'

The faction of Leicester made considerable disturbance in Holland after his departure, and required some pains and care before the Lord Willoughby could reduce them to order.

stretch of prerogative, kept a dutiful silence, and granted to the queen a liberal subsidy and a benevolence.

An awful period in the annals of England now approached. Philip II. elate with the dominions of Spain, of Portugal, and both the Indies, had determined to exert his vast naval power, and crush, with one huge effort, the insolent islanders who dared his vengeance. He had just received new provocation; Drake, the scourge of Spain, had destroyed a whole fleet of transports at Cadiz, laden with stores and ammunition; had ravaged his western coast; insulted Lisbon; and taken a carack laden with treasure and papers of high importance.

The preparations of Spain were worthy of the provocations they were intended to revenge. One hundred and thirty vessels, most of which were larger than had been usually known in the European seas, manned by 8,350 seamen,* 19,290 soldiers, and 2,080 galley slaves, and mounting 2,360 large pieces of ordnance, composed a power which in the eyes of Europe seemed irresistible; and which the Spaniards haughtily christened ‘The Invincible Armada.’ Nor was this the whole force destined to act against the devoted Elizabeth; the Prince of Parma had 25,000 veterans

*Designs
of Philip
against
England.*

* Strype’s Annals, tom. iii. App. No. 51. Speed, p. 858.

A.D. 1587. teran troops quartered along the coast of Flanders, and ready to embark in transports and flat-bottomed vessels, the moment that the Armada should appear to protect their passage towards the Banks of the Thames ; and some hundreds of desperate English renegades presented the most odious, but not the least formidable show of this armament ; the treacherous band was led by Stanley, already proscribed for selling a Dutch fortress to Spain. Besides these, 12,000 Frenchmen, (bred by the bigot Guises in an habitual hatred of Protestants) encamped on the Norman coast, were prepared to embrace the first opportunity of crossing the Channel, and renewing in the west of England those horrors which the Huguenots had felt in France.

Provisions abounded in the Armada ; bread and wine for 40,000 men, during a whole year, stored the holds ; while the decks swarmed with volunteers of the highest ranks. Superstition, too, added her fanatic but powerful aid ; bulls, denouncing hell-fire to Elizabeth and her abettors, accompanied the squadron ;* and a consecrated banner from Rome waved over the heads of these new crusaders.

Activity
of the
English.

To oppose this tremendous array, the strength of England seemed fearfully inadequate. The whole realm could not supply 15,000 able sea-

men ;

* Camden, p. 543.

men; and the royal navy consisted only of twenty-^{A.D. 1587:} eight vessels, most of them small, and totally unable to lye along side of the huge galleons of Spain and Portugal. But Elizabeth reigned in the hearts of her people,* and the exertions which they made for her and their country were proportioned to their attachment. London alone sent her 10,000 men and 30 ships; not large indeed, but nimble and well equipped. Other ports followed this noble example, and the nobility and gentry, (among whom were several Roman Catholics, and even aliens) [76] bought or hired vessels, and made them ready to serve in this glorious cause.

The queen had hardly an ally but James of Scotland, whose interest bound him to her, and whose fidelity to his engagements was of infinite consequence to England and the Protestant cause. Great were the offers by which the subtle Spaniard tempted him to join in an enterprize, which he wished to represent as chiefly meant to revenge the death of his injured mother.[†] But the young prince had discernment enough to penetrate

NOTES.

[76] The lords Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, the knights, Cecil, Vavasor, Gerrard, and Blount, were distinguished in this patriotic armament. [CAMDEN.]

* Stowe, p. 744, 749, 750.

† Strype's Annals, tom. iii. p. 382.

A.D. 1587. trate the slight veil with which the Spaniard wished to conceal his real designs, and wit enough to remark to an ambassador, that ‘ he found himself treated as Polyphemus treated Ulysses, and reserved for Philip’s last meal.’

Some small and negative aid England might be said to have derived from the king of Denmark and the Hanse-towns. These, though not on good terms with Elizabeth, yet, moved by the common interest of religion, found means to delay, and even stop the sailing of those Spanish ships which had put into their harbors, and were laden with stores for the Armada.

1588. The martial and romantic spirit of Henry VIII. now glowed in his genuine offspring. She assembled her best officers. Her fleet she entrusted to Lord Howard of Effingham, and to Drake, Cavendish, and Frobisher, the first seamen of the age. She raised three armies; one of 20,000 ^{Three ar-} was cantoned along the coast; while one of ^{mies and} their stations. 34,000,* under the Lord Hunsdon,[77] guarded her

NOTES.

[77] Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, was cousin (by Ann Boleyn) to Elizabeth. He was a true soldier, and a lover of soldiers. Accustomed to the bluntness of a camp, ‘ he made no scruple,’ says Grainger, ‘ of calling things by their own names, and was a great seller of bargains to the maids of honor.’ When dying, the queen, it is said, would have made him an earl, but he refused the honor as out of season.

* Stowe, p. 744. Speed, p. 859.

her person, and was to act as occasion might require. It pains the historian to add, that she entrusted the third and most important corps of 22,000 men, encamped at Tilbury, and destined to defend the metropolis, to the worthless, the dastardly Leicester, who was appointed general in chief of all her forces. Had the Spaniards landed their veteran troops, this partiality might have been fatal to England.

This army the queen visited in person; and riding through the ranks with a cheerful countenance, she elevated the loyalty of the soldiers almost to the pitch of phrenzy, by one of the most spirited orations which any history can produce. She told them, that she had been warned not to trust herself among armed multitudes for fear of treachery; but that she did not wish for life, if she must distrust her people. ‘Let tyrants fear,’ said the eloquent heroine, ‘I have always so behaved myself, that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good-will of my subjects. I am therefore come among you, not as for my recreation and sport, but as being resolved, in the middle and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all; to lay down, for my God and my people, my honor and my blood, even in the dust. I know,’ added she, ‘that I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart of a King, and of a King of England’

Speech of
Elizabeth
at Til-
bury
camp.

A.D. 1588. ‘ land too ; and think foul scorn that Parma, or
 Spain, or any prince in Europe, should dare to
 invade the borders of my realm. To which,
 rather than any dishonor shall grow by me, I
 myself will take up arms ; I myself will be
 your general, judge, and the rewarder of every
 one of your virtues in the field,’ &c. &c.

Negotiations, delusive on both sides, had employed the commencement of 1588, until the end of May, when the Armada sailed under the Duke de Medina Sidonia, who, on the decease of the Marquis di Santa Cruz, had been appointed to command. A storm which damaged the ships and drove them back to Lisbon, had nearly occasioned the disarming of the English fleet ; which the œconomical Elizabeth judged no longer necessary. The Lord Howard, however, dared to disobey her orders ; happily for England, for on the 19th of July* a Scots privateer ran into Plymouth, and informed him that the Armada was in the Channel. Howard instantly dispatched expresses for assistance ; and, eager for action, towed his little fleet, (about 50 vessels) in spite of wind and tide, out of the harbor ; undismayed at the floating castles which covered the sea, and which, as an elegant Italian paints,† ‘ advanced slowly, as if the ocean were tired of supporting, and

The Ar-
mada
sails.

* Stowe, p. 747. Sir W. Monson, p. 172.

† Bentivoglio, lib. iv.

the winds of impelling, so enormous a weight.' A.D. 1588.
He hung upon their rear; and, supplying the want of force by valor and activity, he delayed their progress until he had received reinforcements from every southern port, fitted out and commanded by the flower of the English nation.

The fleet of Howard now amounted to one hundred and forty ships, or rather barks; with these, unequal as they were, he skirmished with the Invincible Armada six days. During this time the English vessels could not lye along side of the Spaniards, so great was the superiority of their metal; nor could they board them, so lofty were their sides; nevertheless, by their persevering agility they had gained such advantages, that dismay had taken place of that insolence which had hitherto animated the invaders.

The Armada now lay confusedly moored off Calais; it had lost several of its largest vessels, and the Prince of Parma had refused to leave the ports of Flanders until he could be certain that The Ar-
mada dis-
comfited. the Spaniards were masters at sea. On the ninth night, eight fire-ships, commanded by the Captains Young and Prowse, dashing among the thickest of the fleet, scattered terror and destruction around them; and twelve of the best ships which Medina Sidonia could boast of were consumed or lost. While England had only to lament one brave officer, named Cocke; who, with

A.D. 1588. with his crew, overwhelmed by superior force, perished in that glorious fight.

The next day it was determined to abandon all ideas of an invasion, and to conduct, if possible, the remains of the fleet back to Spain; [78] and rather than venture to repass the Channel, exposed to the now dreaded vessels of England, it was thought better to encounter the rocks, sands, and billows of that stormy sea which washed the Isles of

NOTES.

[78] Some say that Philip fell on his knees, and thanked God that there returned any part of the Armada. This may be true: Philip was an accurate dissembler, and besides, he had been too much used to sacrifice thousands of men to his ambition and bigotry, to be much hurt at a loss like this. But historians of great credit tell a much more credible tale. They make the transports of Philip's anger and grief indescribable; and add, that he vowed on his knees that he would yet subdue England, even if he reduced Spain to a desert by the effort. Nor did his subsequent conduct make this resolution appear improbable. Pasquin, at Rome, was very severe on this occasion, and made inquiry as to the fate of the Armada, 'Whether it was not caught up into Heaven?' &c. [STRYPE.]

Medals were struck on the Spanish Armada's flight. Some had as a motto, 'Venit, vidit, fugit:' 'It came, it saw, it fled.'

The vain-glorious Philip published in almost every European tongue, besides that of England, a pompous account of the fleet and land forces destined against England.

An astronomer of Honingsberg had long before (says Camden) prophesied, that 1588 would be a year of wonders; and the German chronologers had long presaged, that it would be the 'climacterical year of the world.'

of Shetland. Every species of wretchedness now A.D. 1588.
 hovered around them. Had not the English wanted ammunition, the Spaniards had all been their prisoners;* as it was, tempests unceasingly accompanied their course;† some of the galleons ran on the Scottish shore, where the few that escaped were treated with decent kindness; others more unfortunate were dashed to pieces on the coasts of Ireland, where those who gained the shore were without pity massacred. In fine, the Invincible Armada, reduced to less than a third of its original number, returned to Spain full of famine and disease, to become the theme of Philip's affected philosophy.

Besides her deliverance from the Spanish invasion,[79] England had another still more im-

Leicester
dies.

portant

NOTES.

[79] It may gratify our national pride to be told, that we owe to the wisdom of Elizabeth, and the prudence of Burleigh, the circulation of the first genuine Newspaper, the ‘English Mercurie,’ printed during the time of the Spanish Armada; the first number, preserved still in the British Museum, is marked 50; it is dated the 23d of July, 1588, and contains the following curious article:

“ Yesterday the Scotch Ambassador had a private audience of her Majesty, and delivered a letter from the King his master, containing the most cordial assurances of adhering to her Majesty’s interests, and to those of the Protestant reli-

gion;

* Sir W. Monson, p. 172, 173. + Speed, p. 862.

A.D. 1588. portant event in 1588; the decease of the Earl of Leicester,[80] the most unprincipled of court minions.

NOTES.

gion; and the young King said to her Majesty's minister at his court, that all the favor he expected from the Spaniards was the courtesey of Polyphemus to Ulysses, that he should be devoured the last." These publications were, however, then, and long after, published in the shape of small pamphlets, and so they were called in a Tract of one Burton, in 1614: "If any one read now a days, it is a Play-book or a Pamphlet of Newes," for so the word was originally spelled.

It is to the life of Ruddiman, a most entertaining production of Mr. Chalmers's pen, that we owe this remark.

[80] Robert Dudley, son to the Duke of Northumberland, was married, in 1550, to Amie the daughter of Sir John Robsart. 'After which,' says Edward VI. in his Journal, 'certain gentlemen did strive who should first take away a goose's head, which was hanged alive on two cross posts.' In the reign of Mary, (although he and his family had been in arms against her) he was made master of the ordnance. A circumstance which made many think he had betrayed the cause of Lady Jane Grey. Elizabeth promoted him to the mastership of the horse, and shewed him other especial favor. In 1560, the Lord Robert, thinking it convenient to be single while the two young queens in the island were marriageable, contrived to put his wife out of the way, by flinging her down stairs and breaking her neck. He is supposed, soon after, to have privately married the Lady Douglas Sheffield, after having poisoned her husband. Finding her inconvenient to him, Dudley (now Earl of Leicester) endeavored to poison her, and forced her by terror, and the loss of her hair and nails, to marry Sir Edward Stafford. He then got another wife, the Lady Essex, after getting rid of her husband by his favorite method. His life is but a list of poisonings and murthers. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton died by his hellish art; and the Earl of Sussex, as well

minions. He was on the point of being constituted Lieutenant-General of England. His royal mistress lamented his loss with many tears; but with characteristic economy, distrained his goods to reimburse herself for what she had lent him.

The state of England was, in 1589, flourishing beyond precedent. The Spaniards, disabled and dispirited, shrunk within their harbors; the French king, involved in a civil war, looked to Elizabeth with gratitude for an aid of 30,000l. and 4,000 men; and Scotland was ruled by counsellors who regularly received directions from the English court, and obeyed them implicitly. The queen, however, although she had been granted a double subsidy from her Parliament, would not indulge them in their favorite reform of the Liturgy, nor would she expend the supplies they had given in any expeditions against Spain, as was the public wish; she encouraged, indeed, Drake and Norreys to fit out a fleet and an army in favor of Don Antonio, who pretended to the crown of

L 2

Portugal,

NOTES.

as Cardinal Chastillon, brother to the Admiral of France, are said to have owed their premature death to Leicester. His servants were apt to die suddenly; Dr. Julio, an Italian, deep in his Lord's mysteries, expired in a strange manner; and there is reason to suppose that the arch-fiend Leicester found his own fate at last, by means of venom which he had prepared for others.

[AUBREY, STRYPE, CAMDEN, LEICESTER'S COMMON-
WEALTH, &c.]

A.D. 1589. Portugal, and she lent them six ships and a little money, but left the main cost to be defrayed by them. They sailed, destroyed a fleet at the Groyne, landed in Portugal, took Cascaes, and routed the Spaniards; and (had not Drake and Norreys disagreed,* and their men been attacked by a pestilential disorder, owing to their excesses on shore) might have been masters of Lisbon. Finding, however, no prospect of a revolt in favor of Don Antonio, they reembarked, attacked and plundered Vigo, and returned[†] to England with the loss of 6000 men by sickness,[81] and with sixty prizes, most of which they were obliged to restore to the Hanse-towns. Famine, too, had been added to their calamities, had they not met the Earl of Cumberland, a gallant and adventurous

NOTES.

[81] Don Antonio was singularly unfortunate. Both the English and French nations endeavored to restore him without effect. The wags of London used to call him ‘The Bishop of Ely,’ because the revenues of that see were supposed to be kept in the hands of the queen, in order to pay the costs of the expedition in his favor. [HARRINGTON.]

A circumstance almost ludicrous occurs concerning this enterprize. The soldiers, &c. extremely disappointed and disgusted at returning without money, and not being nice casuists as to the distinction between foreign and domestic property, were with difficulty prevented from making themselves amends by plundering Bartholomew Fair.

[STOWE, UBI SUPRA.]

* Sir W. Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 174. † Stowe, p. 757.

rous nobleman, who, with a fleet fitted out (one of Elizabeth's ships excepted) at his own cost, was sailing for the Azores ; he generously spared some provisions to the distressed armament of Drake and proceeded on his voyage, which was not fortunate ; for although he distressed the Spaniards, plundered their islands, and swept away their richest merchants ships, yet disease and want of food thinned his crews ; and on his return, the same ill-fate pursuing him, his most valuable prize was dashed in pieces on the rocks of Cornwall.*

Although, by these enterprizes, the adventurers were not enriched, yet the damage done to the enemies of England was immense, and the name of Elizabeth affected every Spanish ear with terror.

Philip, Earl of Arundel, eldest son to the late Duke of Norfolk, was now brought to trial for treasonable practices, conferences with traitors, and for having had a solemn mass performed in favor of the Spanish Armada. He was condemned, but the queen spared his life.

The English queen had hitherto, by a series of deep machinations, prevented James of Scotland from marrying. She loved not wedlock
in

* Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 143.

A. D. 1589. in general,[82] and was particularly apprehensive, that a wife of discernment might encourage him to a secession from that dependence in which she had hitherto kept him. Towards the end of 1589, however, he exerted a spirit of which he was not supposed to be capable, and, in spite of her machinations, wedded Anne of Denmark, after having encountered the storms and waves of the Norwegian ocean.

1590. The active and vigorous abilities of the English queen, were now to be exercised in a new field. Since the destruction of those wild expectations which the inveterate Philip had founded on his Armada, discouraged from his projects on England,

NOTES.

[82] Once Elizabeth persuaded a harmless girl, a cousin of Sir Matthew Arundel, to own that she wished to marry, if she could gain her father's consent. ‘I'faith,’ said the queen, ‘then I will sue for you to your father.’ She did so, and ‘Sir Roberte,’ the father, readily agreed to what she asked. The young lady was now informed that her father had given his consent. ‘Then,’ said the deluded girl, ‘I shall be happy.’ ‘So thou shalte,’ said her royal mistress, ‘but not to be a foole and marrye. I have his consente given to me, and I vow thou shalte never get it into thy possession. So go to thy busynesse. I see thou art a bold one to owne thy foolishnesse so readilie.’ Her courtiers she treated still worse; she imprisoned them, and deprived them of all her favor, when they dared to marry, as witness Leicester, Essex and Southampton.

[NUGÆ ANTIQUÆ.]

See too, in Monmouth's Memoirs, with how much difficulty Sir Robert Carey got his pardon for committing the crime of matrimony.

land, he had turned his thoughts towards the possession of France ; which he thought to gain by supporting the bigoted party styled The League, who had assassinated their king, Henry III. Here, too, his arch-foe Elizabeth was ready to oppose him. To the aid of Henry of Bourbon, now king of France, the head of the Protestant party, she now poured in fresh aids* of money and men, which, added to those with which she had before supplied him, were of the utmost service to his cause, which languished while faintly supported by jealous Huguenots, and bigoted ill-affected Papists.

Yet there were persons in the councils of Elizabeth who advised her to permit France to be left to tear herself in pieces ; these strengthened their arguments by quoting the words of the last Charles of Burgundy, ‘ That it were well for Europe if France were ruled by twenty princes instead of one.’ But the English queen spurned the ungenerous intimation ; and said, with a vehemence almost prophetic, ‘ that the day which tore France in pieces, would prove the eve of England’s ruin.’

The cautious Elizabeth, however, seldom lent her assistance without security for repayment ; and in the treaties which were successively formed between her and the new king of France, she never lost sight of restitution. She had acted in the

same

* Camden, p. 556.

A.D. 1590. same prudent style with the Dutch, nor permitted the cautionary towns to escape from her power, while she remained their creditor. It was this policy which enabled her to wage a long and expensive war with the richest sovereign in Europe, without burthening her people with insupportable imposts.

Irish disturbance quelled.

Some disturbances happened in Ireland during 1590, but they were soon quelled by the attention of the English government; and Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, who had illegally executed a brother chief, was brought to make the most humble submissions before the queen at Greenwich. He promised unlimited obedience; and for some time maintained his promise with good faith, as his character was not totally destitute of pretensions to honor. Others, among the turbulent chiefs of the Irish, sought their own ruin by their illegal conduct. Hugh Roe Mac Mahon was executed for exacting unlawful imposts; and Bryan O'Rourke, who had fled to Scotland for the same offence, was delivered up by James, and died as a traitor in London. [83]

Never

NOTES.

[83] Bryan O'Rourke was tried in Westminster-Hall for treason. He had dragged the queen's picture about at the tail of a horse, and cut it in pieces; besides perpetrating other traitorous acts. He was very turbulent, refused to be tried by a jury; laughed at his confessor, and died like a mad savage.

[STOWE.]

Never had any year deprived Elizabeth of so many confidential servants as did 1590. Of these the most remarkable were, Sir Francis Walsingham,* and Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick; nor were these great men survived long by the popular Sir Christopher Hatton, Chancellor of England. [84] She probably derived great consolation

NOTES.

[84] Sir Francis Walsingham was born in Kent, and bred at King's College, Cambridge. In 1573 he was made secretary of state. His intelligence in foreign courts was incredible, and he is reported to have paid near eighty agents and spies for this purpose. He made no use of his power to enrich himself, but died so poor, (although a studious and temperate man) that it was found necessary to carry his corpse to the grave with privacy, lest his creditors should detain it. It was a measure of Walsingham, by which the Spanish bills on the bank of Genoa were stopped for some time, and in consequence the fitting out the vast Armada was delayed during the whole year.

[CAMDEN, &c.]

Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, was a gallant and tried soldier. He had nearly lost his life for his joining the interest of his sister-in-law, Jane Gray. He defended Havre for Elizabeth, nor would yield until he received an express order so to do. He had before shewn active bravery at St. Quintin. A wound, received at Havre, forced him at length to suffer amputation, which occasioned his decease.

Sir Christopher Hatton (who died in the next year) was born at Holdenby, in Northamptonshire, and bred to the study of the law, and gained his high station not by any legal abilities, but by the favor of Elizabeth, who admired his graceful figure in a dance. His post was said to be 'above his law, but not above his parts.' When called on to de-

termine

* Camden, p. 560.

A.D. 1590. solation for these losses, from the effects of a close and severe inspection; which, in spite of interested endeavors to the contrary, she made at this period into the administration of her ‘Customs.’ From an annual produce of 14,000l. she raised the income first to 42,000l. and then to 50,000l. per annum’*

1591. That flame of enterprize which had been kindled among the English by the first successes of Drake, now blazed higher and higher. The Lord Thomas Howard with seven ships sailed to the Azores, to intercept a fleet laden with the treasure of India. Philip had sent a large squadron to protect them. The English were surprised; Howard, with five of his vessels, ran out to sea and escaped; but the Vice-Admiral, Sir Richard Greenville, thinking it beneath the English character to shew the stern of his ship, ‘the Revenge,’ to a Spaniard, resolved sooner to engage the vast force which beset him, amounting to fifty-three men of war, manned with 10,000 seamen.

Valor of
Sir Rich-
ard
Green-
ville.

NOTES.

termine a dubious cause, he recurred always to the advice of Dr. Swale, an eminent civilian, and his most intimate friend. Although the queen loved him, yet her œconomy prompted her to exact a crown-debt from him with a severity that affected his health, and placed his life beyond the reach of delicate cordials and fair words; both of which his capricious mistress employed in person to save him,

* Naunton, p. 15.

seamen. During fifteen hours, he fought with as many of the enemy as could find room to attack him; at length covered with wounds, his men almost all slain or wounded, his powder nearly spent, his masts gone, and his vessel, pierced by 800 bullets, almost sinking under him, he earnestly recommended it to the few survivors of his crew to trust in God, rather than in Spain, and to blow up the ship. The gunner and some others approved the idea; but a contrary sentiment prevailing with the majority, the Revenge was surrendered on honorable terms* to Don Alphonso Bassano, the admiral of Philip. The gallant Englishman died of his wounds in three days, with the resignation [85] of a Christian hero; and his ship, the first English man of war the Spaniards had ever taken, sunk at sea with two hundred men on board. A dear prize; as the capture of her had cost the enemy 2000 of their bravest sailors, and two of their stoutest ships, which were sunk, besides two disabled. In the

NOTES,

[85] These were his last words: 'Here die I, Richard Greenville, with a joyful and quiet mind; for that I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do, fighting for his country, queen, religion, and honor. My soul willingly departing from this body, leaving behind the lasting fame of having behaved as every valiant soldier is in his duty bound to do.'

[HAKLUYT.]

* Camden, p. 565.

A.D. 1591. the mean time [86] the Indian fleet, which the dread of the Lord Howard had detained at the Havannah beyond its due season, endeavoring to reach Spain, was dispersed by a storm; many were lost, and several fell into the hands of English adventurers.

Spanish
fleet dis-
persed
and
taken.

In France, Sir John Norreys and Sir Roger Williams commanded with great honor two separate bodies of auxiliaries, [87] sent by Elizabeth to the help of Henry Bourbon. These sovereigns, although united in the great system of opposition to Philip, were by no means always in unison. It was the interest of France to dislodge

the

NOTES.

[86] A voyage undertaken about this period, by the Captains Riman and Lancaster, turned out very ill; yet not worse than the morals, equity, and gratitude of the adventurers merited. Some were shipwrecked, and some blasted by lightning. Those who were relieved plundered their deliverers. Yet, with all their faults and follies, the few who returned to England brought home vast riches, and pointed out the way to the East Indies.

[CAMDEN,

[87] It was about this time that Sir Charles Blount (better known as Lord Mountjoy) having, to gratify his military turn, stolen over to France without the queen's knowledge, that he might serve under one of her generals, met on his return with a reproof, delivered in no gentle terms. ‘ Serve me so again once more, and I will lay you fast enough for running. You will never leave till you are knocked on the head, as that inconsiderate fellow Sidney was. You shall go when I send you. In the mean time, see that you lodge in the court, where you may follow your books, read and discourse of the wars.’

[SIR ROBERT NAUNTON'S FR. REG.

the Spaniards from the interior provinces, whereas A.D. 1591.
 the English queen wished her troops to be em-
 ployed in driving them from Bretagne. This
 occasioned remonstrances,* warmth, and even me-
 naces on the side of England ; but the mutual in-
 terest of both always produced a reconciliation.
 The young and gallant Earl of Essex, now the
 queen's supreme favorite† stole to France, where
 he wished to have distinguished his valor under
 Henry, but was severely chidden, and recalled
 by his royal mistress. [88]

Amid her military exertions Elizabeth neglected Trinity
college founded.
 not the works of peace ; and in order to keep her
 Irish subjects at home, founded the celebrated Col-
 lege at Dublin, dedicated to the Holy Trinity,
 and endowed with the privileges of an university.

The transactions of 1592 were not so brilliant 1592.
Elizabeth aids Hen-
ry of France.
 as those of former years. Elizabeth sent troops
 to France, to be employed in Bretagne, where
 the neighbourhood of the Spaniards made her
 uneasy. But Henry, being severely pressed in
 Normandy

NOTES.

[88] It was probably on this occasion that Henry said in anger to the English Ambassador, ‘ Que sa Majesté ne laisserait jamais son cousin d'Essex s'éloigner de son cotillon.’ This being reported to Elizabeth by Sir Anthony Shirley, she wrote with her hand four lines to Henry. Severe enough, we may believe; for the king raised his hand, as if he meant to strike the bearer, and drove him out of the chamber.

[WALPOLE.]

* Camden. p. 138. &c.

+ Stowe, p. 762.

A. D. 1592. Normandy, broke the agreement and turned his united force that way ; and the English queen, although displeased, did not recal her troops. At sea, she continued to encourage every enterprize which might tend to distress the navigation of Spain. These were not at all successful; Sir Walter Raleigh, who meant to attempt an* important service in the West Indies, had his fleet scattered and disabled by a storm; Sir John Burroughs, and White, a Londoner, who commanded separately small squadrons, were more fortunate. They harrassed the Spaniards and enriched themselves. They first made prize of a galleon worth† 150,000l. sterling, and drove another on shore. The latter took a ship richly laden, although one part of her cargo, a million of indulgences, was to him of little value.

Sir John
Perrot
imprisoned.

The close of the same year, 1592, was fatal to the spirited and honest, but thoughtless, Sir John Perrot, [89] who had ruled Ireland with good success.

[89] Sir John was the nominal son of Sir Thomas Perrot, gentleman of the bedchamber to Henry VIII. But that monarch had his reasons for thinking him his own, and hearing of his valor in a renounter at the stews in Southwark, he sent for him and took care of his fortune. He was the exact likeness (according to Naunton) of Henry, 'in qualities, gesture, and voice.' His strength and stature were extraordinary, and his courage truly heroic. Elizabeth

* Camden, p. 566.

+ Raleigh's Report, &c. Hakluyt, vol. ii. part 2.

success. He was attainted, and died in the Tower, A.D. 1592. after many reprieves, of a broken heart. [90]

Cautious as the queen had been with regard to the expences of war, she was now considerably in debt, and accordingly found it necessary to summon a Parliament early in 1593. The Commons, called on this occasion, copied the humble manners of their predecessors in the days of Henry VIII. For although Elizabeth ungraciously hesitated to grant their first request, ‘liberty of speech ;’ and although she sent the intrepid Puritan, Paul Wentworth, to the Tower, and three other members to the Fleet, on account of their endeavors to procure a settlement of the

1593.

Parlia-
ment
harshly
treated.

succession,

NOTES.

beth employed him against the Irish rebels, towards whom he is said to have shewn great ferocity. He was, however, equally severe on those English marauders who usurped the lands of the unoffending Irish. His real crime appears to have been an ill-judged effusion of his father’s fiery spirit. The queen had schooled him severely ; but in 1588, she had sent him a soothing letter. Perrot publickly ridiculed his mistress’s mutability : ‘ Lo’ you now,’ said he, that she is ready to be-p— herself for fear of the Spaniard, I am again one of her White-boys.’ These indiscreet words were his ruin. Dean Swift says, he was the first person who swore by G—s W—s.

[GRAINGER, &c.]

[90] In 1592, the Thames was so dried up on September 6, by a strong western wind, that between the Tower and London Bridge people crossed it dry-shod. The summer had been remarkably sultry.

A.D 1593. succession, yet the House acquiesced in these repeated breaches of privilege, and granted her a considerable subsidy. The Lords wished to make it still larger; but the lower house, tenderer of its purse than its privilege, refused to* consent to any money-bill which originated not from itself. A conference, at length, composed this difference. The Commons then made a faint attack on that English inquisition ‘The High Commission-Court,’ but Elizabeth frowned them into silence. The session closed with a reprimanding speech from the throne, notwithstanding that, to please the court, a severe act against recusants had been passed, which affected the Puritans† as much as it did the Roman Catholics.

The change of religion which Henry IV. of France had been obliged by policy to adopt, although it occasioned the queen of England to chide him severely by letter, and although it made her (as Camden writes) seek for classical consolation by translating ‘Boëtius de Consolatione’ into English, yet did not eradicate her friendship; on the contrary, she entered into a new treaty of alliance with the forced apostate.

It was, indeed, the interest of both to unite; for Philip still had great power, and inveterately sought their ruin. His emissaries, too, still excited fanatics to assassinate those whom he pointed out

Attempts to assassinate Elizabeth.

* D'Ewes, p. 473, 477, 483. † Ibid. p. 465.

out as enemies; and just at this period, three ^{A.D. 1593.} traitors, York, Williams, and Cullen, suborned by Spanish agents to murther Elizabeth, were discovered and executed. But the most dangerous conspirator against the queen was her domestic physician, Rodrigo Lopez, a Jew. He owned that he had received a bribe, yet denied that he meant evil to Elizabeth, whom, to the great entertainment of the spectators, he declared at the gallows he loved as well as Jesus Christ.

One Hesketh, about the same time, would have persuaded Ferdinand, Earl of Derby, to claim the English crown as descended from Henry VII. threatening his life if he refused. The loyal nobleman delivered up the villain to justice, but ^{Lord Derby poisoned.} died* soon after by poison. [91] The traitors took refuge in Flanders, and it was with an ill grace, and in vain, that Elizabeth, who had protected Perez when he fled from Spain, demanded that they should be delivered up to her resentment.

The enmity of Philip extended to Scotland, where the Roman Catholic lords formed plots ^{Affairs in Scotland and Ireland.} under land.

NOTES.

[91] The credulity of the age attributed his death to witchcraft. The disease was odd, and operated as a perpetual emetic; and a waxen image, with hair like that of the unfortunate earl, found in his chamber, reduced every suspicion to certainty.

* Stowe, p. 767.

[CAMDEN, STOWE.]

A.D. 1593. under his auspices against the king and his English alliance. These were narrowly watched by Elizabeth, who instigated James to proceed against them. His poverty, however, and her parsimony (for she would advance no money to assist him) saved them for the present. In Ireland, too, the gold of Spain influenced the unstable Earl of Tyrone to revolt, and assume the important and forbidden appellation of ‘O’Neile;’ he and his adherents, however, were soon induced to submit, and were forgiven.

London lost, before the close of the year 1593, 10,000 inhabitants, by her usual and periodical scourge, the plague.

1594. While the king of Spain sharpened the poniard and poisoned the bowl to destroy Elizabeth, that heroine sought her revenge only in the fair field of war. Her forces, led by the gallant Norreys, English troops successful in Bretagne. in 1594, encountered and defeated the Spanish forces in Bretagne, and with great gallantry assisted at the taking Morlaix, Quimpercorentin, and Brest; before which last place Sir Martin Frobisher who attacked it by sea, found, with many other Englishmen, an honorable death. [92]

At

NOTES.

[92] Frobisher was born near Doncaster, in Yorkshire. We know little of his early life. He followed the sea; attempted a North-west passage in vain; and in vain hoped to make his fortune by the glittering sands of Greenland,

At the same time the ocean swarmed with English squadrons in search of Indian gold. Captain James Lancaster was the most successful, as he brought home fifteen ships laden with sugar (then a scarce commodity) besides the treasures of a rich carack.* Sir Walter Raleigh and Richard Hawkins were not so fortunate ; yet each added something to the distress of the Spanish commerce, and helped to render the name of Elizabeth a terror to the ears of Philip.

At this period, Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins sailed on their last expedition to the West Indies.† They set out with no good omens ; a menaced invasion of Cornwall by the Spaniards of Bretagne detained them some time at Plymouth ; and, after they had quitted their port, the admirals disagreed as to the operations of the armament. No enterprize in the reign of Elizabeth had raised such high expectations, nor any one ended with less success.

The quantity of grain which the armies in Flanders and France now demanded, together with

NOTES.

which have deceived many mariners. He had great success in prizes from the Spaniards ; was knighted for his bravery against the Armada ; and died through want of skill in his surgeon. He was so strict an observer of discipline that his seamen loved him not.

[CAMPBELL.]

* Camden, p. 683. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 708.

† Stowe, p. 809. Fuller's Worthies, Yorkshire, p. 233.

A.D. 1595. with the bad last year's harvest, occasioned a temporary famine in June, 1595. The Londoners rose and committed strange disorders. While Elizabeth, with almost as little law on her side, appointed a provost-marshall, exercised martial law, and executed five rioters on Tower-Hill, without waiting for any usual form.

Disturbances in Ireland.

Baffled in every other quarter, Philip could only find in Ireland an opportunity of retaliating on his magnanimous adversary some of those devices by which she had curbed his vast power. His agents excited the restless Tyrone to join a MacQuire and a MacMahon in revolt ; he supplied the rebels with good officers from the Netherlands, and, before it was long, 10,000 men in arms, led by these factious chiefs, set at defiance the English government.

To quell this formidable rising, Sir John Norreys, with his veteran power, was suddenly transported from Bretagne ; and Tyrone was soon routed, and reduced to the most desperate situation ; from which, however, he extricated himself in a certain degree by a series of deceitful conventions, and by taking an artful advantage of some impolitic bickerings between Russel the Deputy, and the General.

Elizabeth, in the mean while, felt a disappointment in the failure of that tremendous armament which she had sent to attack the heart of her antagonist's

tagonist's richest dominion.* Sir Francis Drake ^{A.D. 1595.} and Sir John Hawkins commanded the fleet, while Sir Thomas Baskerville led the land forces. The treasures of Porto Rico, the great object of the expedition, they missed ; then sailing to the continent of Spanish America, they destroyed many towns, and laid a vast tract of country waste with fire and sword ; but a rich galleon escaped all their efforts ; and one of their smallest ships fell into the hands of the Spaniards. To complete the detail, both the marine commanders, the greatest seamen perhaps of any age or country, fell by diseases, aided by vexation of mind, [93] before the returning fleet reached the shores of England. †

Death of
Drake
and
Hawkins.

In

NOTES.

[93] Sir John Hawkins descended from a good western family. The treachery of the Mexican Spaniards having nearly ruined him by destroying his best ships at St. John d'Ulloa, he thought himself authorized to plunder the subjects of Philip in general. He succeeded well in many expeditions, gained great honor against the Spanish Armada, but died in his last enterprize, and was buried in the ocean. Sir Francis Drake, who fell with him, had been a partaker of his distresses in South America, and, like him, pursued his injurers with most unrelenting vengeance. He was the first Englishman who sailed round the globe. There have been many disputes concerning his origin ; it appears most probable,

* Camden, p. 585, &c.

† Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 583. Camden, p. 700.

A.D. 1595. In the mean while, Cornwall felt the inconvenience of having Spanish neighbors in Bretagne. A detachment of that nation landed in Mounts-

bay

NOTES.

probable, that he was the son of a plain honest seaman, and was born near Tavistock, Devon, in 1545; his descendants still pay him the compliment of prefixing Francis to whatever Christian name they give to their children.

[CAMPBELL, GRAINGER.]

One action in the varied and enterprizing life of Drake, and one alone, has been spoken of with severity by contemporary writers; his putting to death Mr. John Doughty, at Port St. Julians, during his second foreign voyage. A man second in command, and suspected (on the authority of the following verses from an anonymous poem, called Leicester's Ghost) to have been removed out of the way, that he might not charge Leicester as the author of Lord Essex's murther.

' I doubted least that Doughty should betray
 My counsel, and with other party take ;
 Wherefore, the sooner him to rid away,
 I sent him forth to sea with Captain Drake,
 Who knew how t' entertaine him for my sake :
 Before he went, his lot by me was cast,
 His death was plotted and perform'd in haste.

 He hoped well; but I did so dispose,
 That he at Port St. Gillian lost his head ;
 Having no time permitted to disclose
 The inward grieſs that in his heart were bred :
 Now let him go, transported to the seas,
 And tell my ſecrets to the Antipodes.'

But John Doughty was fairly tried and condemned by a jury of twelve men, as a mutineer, and the charge against Drake seems only to have originated in envy and malice.

An

bay and burnt Penzance,* and two villages, before a sufficient force could be mustered to drive them to their ships. A.D. 1595.

Towards the end of 1595, Philip, Earl of Arundel, closed his melancholy life in the Tower of London. [94]

It was early in 1596, that Elizabeth had intelligence of a new and vast armament which Philip had prepared at Cadiz, under Don Martin di Padilla, an able officer, with a determination to subdue Ireland, at least, if not England. She waited not to be attacked. A numerous fleet under

1596.
Farther designs of Philip.

NOTES.

An anecdote told by Prince and by another writer, (Ferne) is scarcely credible. Sir Bernard Drake (an enterprizing seaman as well as himself) was so enraged at Sir Francis for taking the same arms, that he gave the ‘Terror of Spain’ *a box on the ear*. The queen took up the quarrel, and gave to Sir Francis a new coat of arms; and the tale may stand on record as a parallel to the ‘Strike! but hear me!’ of Themistocles. Her kindness, however, reached not beyond the grave, for she prosecuted his brother Thomas, who had shared all his perils, for a small debt due to the crown.

[BIOG. BRIT. &c.]

The excellent establishment, called the Chest of Chatham, owes its foundation to the two great mariners above recorded.

[CAMPBELL’S LIVES.]

[94] Austere fastings, too much prolonged, are said to have hastened his fate. His bones were kept in an iron chest; a late dutchess of the same family procured his skull, had it engraved in gold, and used it to exalt her devotion, as the relique of a martyr to religion. [PENNANT’S LONDON.]

* Carew’s Cornwall, fol. 115. Camden, p. 583.

A.D. 1596. under the Lord Effingham, accompanied by an army led by the Earl of Essex, (the most brave, most worthy, and most accomplished of those whom the queen had ever favored, but too rash and unexperienced for such a command) sailed instantly for the coast of Spain. The fleet was reinforced by the counsel and experienced valor of Sir Walter Raleigh, who had just returned from a successless expedition to the coast of Guiana, in South America. On the view of Cadiz, it was determined to attempt the destruction of that fleet which it harbored; and Essex, having hurled his hat into the sea with the most extravagant joy at this resolution, led on the attack in spite of the orders of Elizabeth; who, dreading his impetuosity, had directed Raleigh and the Lord Thomas Howard to command the van. He succeeded, in spite of a gallant resistance and numerous obstacles; he forced his way into the harbor, took Cadiz by storm,* and destroyed or captured every one of the vast number of vessels which its port contained. Philip lost on this occasion fifteen large ships of war, and twenty-two vessels laden with commodities for the East. The damage to the Spanish merchants was immense. Twenty millions of ducats, it is computed, would hardly pay the detriment which Spain

Elizabeth takes Cadiz, and destroys the Spanish fleet.

* Vere's Commentaries, p. 39, 42.

Spain suffered by this enterprize.* The profits, however, were not proportionably great, nor were they fairly distributed.^{A.D. 1596.} [95] The violent spirit of Essex, not contented with this vast success, incited him to stay with a small garrison and defend Cadiz against the power of Spain: ‘He could maintain it,’ he urged, ‘for three months, and then, at worst, he could exchange it with Philip for Calais,’ but none would remain on a hope so forlorn. The soldiers and sailors were now too wealthy to seek farther dangers. In vain did Essex, with more heroism than judgment,[†] propose new objects of conquest. They were, indeed, persuaded to attack Faro, as it was on their way home; but a panic-terror had induced its inhabitants to abandon the place; and no glory ensuing from its conquest, Essex returned to England, to see, with anguish, those whom he hated, raised to honors which he thought his own ^{Essex disgusted.} due. [96]

What

NOTES.

[95] Some had ten, some sixteen, some 20,000 ducats for the ransom of their captives. Sir Walter Raleigh, though singularly active and severely wounded, got only (to use his own words) ‘a lame leg and deformed; for the rest, he either spoke too late, or ’twas otherwise resolved; he wanted not good words, but had possession of nought but poverty and pain.’

[RALEIGH’S RELATION OF THE EXPEDITION, &c. &c.]

[96] Cecil, son to the treasurer, had been made secretary of state in the room of Boddely, whom Essex had recommended ed.

* Stowe, p. 774. Speed, p. 870.

† Sir W. Monson’s Tracts, p. 191.

A.D. 1596. What gave him most pain was that, in the patent of the new earl of Nottingham, (the lord Effingham) he was allowed the merit of having taken Cadiz; a provocation so great, that it moved Essex to defie the earl, or any of his family, to single combat.

The realm of England had been in peril during the absence of the fleet. The Spanish admiral had sailed with a vast navy and 8,000 soldiers, on a well-concerted design to land a body of veterans in the West of England, seize the unguarded harbor of Falmouth, and wait at the mouth of the Channel to intercept the fleet of Lord Effingham on its return from the Cadiz expedition, with its

NOTES.

ed. That nobleman, who was as thoughtless as brave, had offended the queen by making sixty knights at once at the taking of Cadiz. It was a common saying:

‘ A gentleman of Wales, a knight of Cales,
A lord of the north country;
A yeoman of Kent with a twelvemonths rent,
Would purchase them all three.’

Elizabeth was so sparing of favor that she let the most acute and discerning of her ministers, Walsingham, sue to her for years before she would indulge him with the humble honor of knighthood.

A country gentleman who, at his own cost, had levied, armed, and paid a corps of 300 men, and marched them to Tilbury camp in 1588, vauntingly at parting said to his wife, ‘ Who knows, but you may be a lady when I return.’

its ships straggling, and its men sickly and fatigued. A.D. 1596.

What the consequence of this apparently rational plan might have been, it is not easy to say; but Providence deigned to interpose; and no sooner had the Spaniards gained sight of Scilly, than at the instant a council of war was sitting on board the Admiral's ship, a storm arose with such violence that it prevented the captains from returning to their vessels. Forty of the fleet were lost or forced into hostile ports, and the rest utterly disabled. The same tempest met the victorious fleet of England on its return; but the ships being lighter escaped with little damage.

Few other transactions distinguished the year. Ireland was still disquieted by the intrigues of Spain; and Holland, which, under the protection of Elizabeth and the government of Prince Maurice was emerging from its distresses, not chusing to pay at once its great debt to England, engaged to send a squadron of twenty-five ships when wanted to join her naval expeditions; besides making a small annual payment. Henry IV. of France severely felt the loss of those troops which Elizabeth had hastily sent to Ireland. The Archduke Albert advanced on his frontiers relieved La Ferté, and took Ardres. The active German stopped not there; and the Duke de Bouillon brought a hasty message to England from Henry of France, that Calais was besieged by the Spaniards

~~A.D. 1596.~~ niards. Elizabeth, really alarmed,[97] sent to the Lord Mayor of London to raise 1,000 men in an instant. It chanced to be on a Sunday, and he was then at St. Paul's. He ordered the doors of the church to be shut, and enlisted the proper persons upon the spot. Before Monday noon the whole party, consisting of 8,000 men were armed, and on their march for Dover; but Calais had fallen before their arrival, quick as the levy had been made, and the men were dismissed; but a considerable sum of money was sent to France, and arrived in due time effectually to assist the royalists.[98]

Undismayed

NOTES.

[97] The French writers say, that Elizabeth offered to defend Calais if she might have it as a pledge; but that Henry said, ‘No; if he must be bitten, it should be by a lion rather than a lioness.’ This answer, they say, irritated the queen, and made her indifferent as to its relief. [SULLY.]

[98] Sir Roger Williams, one of the bravest soldiers in Europe, departed nearly at this period. He fought first under Alva; afterwards he was highly promoted in his own country’s service. Henry IV. of France honored him highly. Although educated as a mere soldier, he wrote a much commended treatise on military improvements. His kinsman and fellow-soldier, Sir Thomas Morgan, died the next day. He had a strong proof of his loyalty in his possession, viz. the offer of a large pension from Philip II. of Spain, if he would desert the cause of his country.

It is told of Sir Roger, that, once as he was marching to the aid of Henry of France, he was worried and teased by a volatile French officer to change his grave march for one in a livelier style, which would hurry on his men. ‘ Rest you easy,

Undismayed by a long series of disastrous events, the persevering Philip again collected a strong force at Corunna, which he destined against his prosperous foe, Elizabeth. Her exertions, however, were not necessary to dissipate this armament. A tempest assailed it on its outset from port, destroyed some of the ships, and disabled all the rest.

The same fate, in some degree, attended a powerful* squadron, which, under Essex, assisted by the Lord Thomas Howard, Raleigh, and Sir Francis Vere, meant to have attacked Corunna. Adverse winds delayed it, until its provisions were nearly exhausted. A part of the ships, however, put to sea, and sailed for the Azores. Raleigh arrived first, and, not waiting for his commander, attacked and made himself master of Fayal. This displeased Essex, whose appetite for glory was insatiable, so much, that had not Howard interposed, a court-martial would have sat on Raleigh and his abettors.† Soon after the wealthy fleet from the Indies came in sight, but the greatest part escaped through the inexperienced

NOTES.

easy,' replied the blunt old warrior, ' young man, that march (the old 'Grenadier's march') has many times led my countrymen through France; and, by the grace of God, I think it shall do the like one time more.' [CAMDEN, &c.

* Stowe, p. 783.

† Raleigh's Hist. of the World, book v. chap. 1 sec. 9.

A.D.1597.
The schemes
of Philip
again crossed by
the wind.

A.D. 1597. enced of Essex in maritime manœuvres. The prizes taken reimbursed the costs of the expedition; but the unhappy difference which it gave rise to between Essex and Raleigh, had fatal consequences.[99]

Ireland unquiet.

Elizabeth was still disquieted in Ireland by the turbulent earl of Tyrone who, more by craft than force, kept alive a kind of rebellion in the wilder parts of the island. To Henry of France she sent succors, both of men and money, more freely than was usual; for she had observed in his councils (since the important town of Amiens had been surprized by the Spaniards under Porto Carrero) symptoms of wishing for a peace with Spain: a measure, indeed, thoroughly necessary to the ruined and almost desperate state of his kingdom.

Polish king's insolence repressed.

A dispute chancing to arise between England and the Hanse-towns, concerning ships which had been taken at Lisbon, the king of Poland sent an ambassador to London, who having commenced a Latin oration in very haughty terms, Elizabeth interrupted him with a rapid piece of eloquence in the same tongue, ‘I expected an ambassador, and behold a herald!’ Thus she began; she then proceeded

NOTES.

[99] One of their first quarrels had been the earl's braving Raleigh at a tilt, and appearing there, in defiance of him with ‘two thousand orange tawney feathers;’ an affront not very intelligible at present.

[WALPOLE.]

proceeded to take to pieces the speech he had made, and ridiculed his master's inexperience, and the messenger's pedantry, in pure classical Latin : ‘ Then, lion-like, rising,’ saith Speed, ‘ she daunted the malapert orator, no less with her stately port and majestic departure, than with the tartness of her princely checks ;’ and turning to the train of her attendants, said, “ God’s death ! my Lords ; I have been forced this day to scour up my old Latin, that has long lain rusting.” She afterwards settled the dispute by artfully drawing the city of Dantzick off from the confederacy.

Towards the close of the year the queen called Elizabeth her Parliament together, and asked for an extraordinary supply which was readily granted (^{requests an extraordinary supply.} a protest being made against the precedent) on her affirming, that the wars in France, Spain, the Netherlands, and on the seas, had expended more than the subsidies which she had received. The queen was now in her sixty-fourth year, and great and firm as her political conduct undoubtedly was, she shared with the most capricious and vain of her sex in their lightest foibles ; particularly in the dread of being thought old, [100] and in that

NOTES.

[100] ‘ The majesty and gravity of a sceptre borne forty-four yeeres,’ (says Sir J. Harrington) ‘ could not alter *that* nature of a woman in her.’ Bishop Rudd, of St. David’s, preaching before her in Lent, 1596, most unlike to a courtier,

A.D. 1597. that eagerness for admiration which frequently tarries too long in the fairest forms. So strange, indeed, was the mixture of qualities in the mind of Elizabeth, that profound veneration and severe ridicule must alternately be bestowed on her conduct, by those who study her transactions.

Although

NOTES.

tier, expatiated on the mysterious nature of the grand climacteric; and, although he observed that the queen as she sat in her closet looked discomposed, yet the thoughtless prelate went on to speak of the thankfulness which she owed to God for preserving her in health and in good fortune so long; and closed with that picturesque description of old age in scripture, ‘When the grynders shall be few in number, and they wax dark that look out of windows,’ &c. Elizabeth opened her window when the sermon was ended, and told him plainly, ‘that he should have kept his arithmetic to himself;’ adding, ‘but I see that the greatest clerks are not the wisest men.’ The poor bishop was advised by his friends to confine himself for a few days, but Elizabeth forgave him.

Doctor Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, was not much more happy in his choice of a subject. He preached about the same time before the queen, on the propriety of her appointing a successor; and ventured to say, ‘that all men pointed their expectations towards Scotland.’ This,’ he said, ‘if an error, was surely a *learned* error.’ Elizabeth dissembled her resentment at the time, but afterwards sent two of her council to reprimand the prelate severely. She took great pains to convince her attendants, that her senses were as strong as ever, and particularly her sight, which she evinced by reading a remarkably small inscription on a jewel, which her good courtiers solemnly protested that they could not decypher.

[HARRINGTON.]

Although the most powerful remonstrances A.D. 1598.
 and most tempting* offers made by the Queen of
 England, and the Dutch states, could not, in
 1598, prevent Henry of France from agreeing to
 a peace with Philip; yet Elizabeth, notwithstanding
 this defection, conscious of her great naval
 superiority over Spain, and nobly refusing to
 abandon the United Provinces, with whom Phi-
 lip would not treat, determined to continue the
 war; and, by a new and very advantageous† trea-
 ty, drew the knot of friendship between England
 and the Netherlands still closer. In this, the
 debt was acknowledged to be 800,000l. sterling;
 it was to be discharged by instalments; the gar-
 risons of the cautionary towns were to be paid
 by the Dutch, and they were bound to supply a
 considerable force both by land and sea, should
 Elizabeth's dominions be invaded.

The enterprizing Earl of Cumberland now re-
 turned from plundering the Canary islands, and
 from the West Indies, where he had taken Porto
 Rico, and, had not a cruel disease depopulated
 his squadron, might probably have added the ex-
 tensive island of that name to the English domi-
 nion. Other adventurers, with inferior force,
 had their share of success; and the rich produce
 of South America had, at this active period, little
 chance of reaching the ports of Spain without a
 severe contest.

At

* Camden, p. 605.

† Rym. Fœd. tom. xvi. p. 310.

A. D. 1598. At this juncture, worn out with fatigues of mind, diseases, and disappointments, Philip of Spain, the scourge of freedom, the right hand of Philip II. bigotry, deceased, after having deprived millions dies. of their lives, and himself of the richest provinces which his ancestors had bequeathed to his ill-omened sway. His contests with Elizabeth of England had been incessant, and were carried on with all the malice of private enmity; [101] and it seems probable that the arrow which reached his heart was poisoned by his perpetual envy at her continued glory and success.

To

NOTES.

[101] One of the last instances of Philip's inveteracy, seems to have been the encouragement given to Squires, an English prisoner, to destroy Elizabeth and Essex by a venomous powder, which, when applied to the pommel of *her* saddle and the elbow of *his* chair,* should cause the queen and her favorite to perish. Squires failed in the execution; and to punish his remissness, a person was dispatched from Spain to accuse him of the traitorous attempt. In consequence, Squires was executed at Tyburn.

[WINWOOD'S MEM.]

No person has been more diversly spoken of than Philip II. He was certainly a deep and hard-hearted politician; but his devotion to the clergy blinded him to inhumanity, at which his nature would have revolted. In the case of the Moriscos, where he suffered not his priestly advisers to interfere, he shewed some moderation. On his death-bed, he advised his son and successor to trust the nobles rather than the clergy. ‘These *new men*,’ said he, ‘are insatiable.’ [M. UN. HIST.]

* A noble and witty writer ridicules this conspirator's adroitness in the choice of *mortal parts*.

To console the high-spirited Essex for the promotion of his rival Lord Effingham to the earldom of Nottingham, he had been made earl-marshall of England. But although Elizabeth loved him affectionately, she sometimes contradicted him, to shew her superiority. It was in one of these disputes, that the petulant favorite, vexed at the Queen for not complying with his recommendation as to the presidency of Ireland, turned his back abruptly upon her; a gross incivility, which she requited by a smart* box on the ear, bidding him at the same time ‘go and be hanged;’ at this, Essex clapping his hand to his sword, and swearing aloud ‘that he would not have taken such an affront from her father, Henry,’ retired from court in extreme disgust. The persuasions of his friends, however, soon made him submit; and Elizabeth again favored him as much as ever. Soon after this, she lost her old, faithful, œconomical treasurer,[102]

Insolence
of Essex.

N 2

Cecil,

NOTES.

[102] William Cecil was born in 1521, and bred at Cambridge. He was master of requests under Edward VI. Mary would have promoted him would he have changed his faith. Elizabeth employed him in the most important business, and trusted greatly to his counsel. He had no shining talents, but great prudence and penetration. As a judge, he would discuss 100 petitions and answer them within a day. Forty years he assisted

* Camden, p. 608.

A.D. 1598. Cecil, lord Burleigh. The Lord Buckhurst succeeded him, and not with discredit.

1599. Ireland in confus. The rebellion in Ireland had now risen to a dangerous height; Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, a hardy and deceitful savage, had actually broken the heart of the brave Sir John Norreys.^[103] That gallant veteran had treated him with the open confidence of a soldier, and finding that Tyrone had taken advantage of that confidence to injure the affairs of England, he sunk under the dread of losing his former reputation in arms, through the insincerity of a barbarian. The Earl of Ormond and Sir Henry Bagnal had still worse fortune in the field, and Elizabeth was on the point of sending the Lord Montjoy,

when

NOTES.

assisted in state affairs. He was so obnoxious to the Guises, that he was invited to Paris expressly to be involved in the massacre of 1572. He left a large fortune, got without a blemish. James of Scots rejoiced at his death, as he thought him a bitter opposer of his interest.

[CAMDEN, BIOC. BRIT. &c.]

[103] Sir John Norreys sprung from a respectable house in Oxfordshire, had fought long and successfully in the Netherlands and in France, where the excess of his daring spirit had more than once drawn upon him reprimands from the queen. ‘But he was now’ (says the quaint Fuller) ‘to fight with left-handed foes; and this great master of defence was now to seek a new guard, viz. who could lie on the coldest earth; swim through the deepest water; or run over what was neither earth nor water.’ [CAMDEN, FULLER, COX.]

when Essex intimated his wish to command in Ireland ; he was instantly made deputy, with powers more than usually extensive, and an army of 20,000 foot and 2,000 horse, was appointed to serve under his orders. The friends of Essex could not have wished him a greater honor ; his enemies,* too, (Nottingham, Raleigh, &c.) were pleased to have his person removed from the partial eye of the queen ; nor did they omit to make her observe the vast popularity of her favorite,† and the loudly-expressed wishes of the people on his behalf as he passed through the streets of London. These shafts of malice and envy missed not their mark. ‘ By God’s son,’ said the jealous sovereign to Sir John Harrington, ‘ I am no queen ! this man is above me ! ’‡

Ill fortune and mismanagement accompanied the hapless Essex throughout his Irish expedition. He promoted his friend Southampton, whom the queen disliked, and disputed her orders when she commanded him to be dismissed ; he attended to interested advisers, and neglected to march against Tyrone, (who had again assumed the proscribed title of O’Neal) until the great and expensive army of England was dwindled by sickness and desertion to a handful ; he then consented to a dishonorable truce with Tyrone ; and lastly,

* Cabala, p. 79. + Sir Robert Naunton, p. 64, 65.

‡ Nugœ Antiquæ, vol. ii. p. 134.

A.D. 1600. Returns
unbidden. lastly, (in imitation of his father-in-law Leicester, when complained of from the Netherlands) he suddenly quitted his command, and presented himself to the sight of his irritated sovereign, as she was sitting, just risen, with her hair about her cheeks. The unexpected presence of one whom she certainly loved with tenderness, so affected Elizabeth that her anger subsided ; and on his going home he was heard to say, not without triumph, ‘ that though troubles and storms had followed him abroad, he had found a sweet calm at home.’*

In the afternoon he attended her again, but reflection had prepared him a more harsh reception. The queen charged him with disobedience, neglect, and dishonor ; and though he replied with a meekness unknown before to his character, he was ordered to appear before the council, (where, to the amazement and indignation of all men, Francis Bacon, to whom Essex had been a kind patron, appeared against him) and, after a severe examination, which lasted eleven hours, during which he rested only on his knees, he was committed to the custody of the Lord Privy-seal. Essex sickened at the queen’s displeasure ; and his still affectionate mistress ordered eight physicians to attend him, and sent him broth and a most

* Sydney’s Letters, vol. ii. p. 157.

most kind message to quicken his recovery. [104] ^{A.D. 1600.} Sir Walter Raleigh (the rival of Essex) fell sick in his turn at these marks of favor to his hated competitor ; and Elizabeth found it necessary to gratify also his caprice, by a like application of kindness.

Conferences, to bring about a general peace, were now to be held at Boulogne ; but a dispute

NOTES.

[104] Whenever Essex had been ill, his kind sovereign had been used to visit him, sit by him, and order ‘ his broths and things.’

[BACON'S PAPERS.]

Mr. Walpole, with great propriety, blames Voltaire for doubting of Elizabeth's attachment to Essex, on account of their disparity of years. Her jealousy broke out in many instances. ‘ The queen has of late,’ says Rowland White in the Sidney Papers, ‘ used the fair Mrs. Bridges with words and blows of anger :’ Again, ‘ the earl is again fallen in love with his fairest B———. It cannot chuse but come to the queen's ears, and then he is undone.’

In the *Nugae Antiquae*, we find Lady Mary Howard severely treated, because ‘ she hath favors and marks of love from the young earl.’

Again, at a masque, when Mrs. Fitton, at the head of eight lady-masquers, wooed the ‘ queen to dawnce,’ her majesty asked who she was ? ‘ Affection,’ she said. ‘ Affection !’ said the queen, ‘ affection is false.’ This was at the height of the fretful fooleries (as Mr. W. calls them) between her and Essex. ‘ Yet her majesty rose and dawnced.’ She was then sixty-eight. Sure it was as natural for her to be in love.

[ROYAL AND NOBLE AUTHORS.]

* *Sydney's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 139.

A.D. 1600. pute about ceremonials [105] stopped all proceedings.

Essex tried and doomed to confinement.

In the mean time, the friends of Essex murmuring at his imprisonment, Elizabeth appointed him to be tried before her council, assisted by the four judges. His misbehavior in Ireland, his neglect of the queen's orders, and disrespectful answers to her letters, were there urged against him, and each charge was established; but as he behaved with propriety and submission, he was only sentenced to be suspended from his office of earl-marshal and master of the ordnance, and to be imprisoned during the pleasure of his sovereign. Elizabeth approved of the judgment, and sent him to his own house in custody of Sir Richard Berkley.

The clouds which had obscured the fortune of this amiable, but heedless, nobleman, now seemed inclined to disperse. His illness* had softened the heart of his queen, and by enquiry she had found that he had spent his hours in exercises of the warmest devotion, an enthusiasm which always seized

NOTES.

[105] The English claimed the second place, allowing to France the first. They appealed to a book well known concerning 'the Ceremonies of the Court of Rome;' and proved by that, that at every general council that place had been allotted to them. Spain had little to allege on her side except the extent of her dominions, and her attachment to the Roman Catholic faith.

* Camden, p. 628.

seized his mind when fortune was adverse: one ^{A.D. 1600.} ill-timed piece of severity occasioned his destruction. The date of a lucrative patent enjoyed by Essex had just expired, and he petitioned for its renewal. Elizabeth denied it with this sarcasm, ‘an * ungovernable beast should be stinted of its provender.’ On hearing this, he gave up all hopes of being re-instated in the favor of his sovereign; and, hurried away by the natural impetuosity of a temper inflamed by the insinuations of his imprudent friends, (and particularly of Cuffe his secretary) he rushed headlong into ingratitude, treason, and ruin. He excited James of Scotland to take violent measures to secure his succession, which he said was in danger from the machinations of a minister who had placed Raleigh to command in Jersey, Carew in Ireland, and Lord Cobham at the Cinque Ports, merely to facilitate the accession of a Spanish princess. But James was too cautious to risque so rich a prize by too much hurry. Essex now wrote to his friend the Lord Montjoy in Ireland, and almost persuaded him to transport his army to England. + He silently caballed with the Roman Catholics, and openly with the most rigorous of the Puritans; and he strove to form an association against Elizabeth among the magistrates and citizens of her metropolis.

* Camden, p. 628.

+ Birch, vol. ii. p. 463.

A.D. 1600. ~~Plots an insurrection.~~ metropolis. He had even proceeded to settle the plan of an insurrection; and it was determined that his friends should overpower the guards, and seize the palace; and that himself should with infinite respect and humility, kneeling to the queen, insist on a new parliament, a new ministry, and a settlement of the succession.

The party who dreaded the restoration of Essex, had surrounded him with spies, against whom the frank disposition of that nobleman was by no means guarded. All he had plotted was made known to the queen, and she might possibly have forgiven it all; but when she was assured, that the man whom she had so highly distinguished, had said of his kind mistress, ‘That the old woman was grown crooked in her mind as well as in her body,’ he could not hope for pardon. [106]

In

NOTES.

[106] This speech must have severely galled a woman so anxious to conceal the growing infirmities natural to her time of life. Whenever any messenger came from James of Scotland to her, ‘on lifting up the hangings, he was sure to find her dancing to a little fiddle, affectedly, that he might tell James, by her youthful disposition, how unlikely he was to come to the throne he so much thirsted after.’

[WELDON.]

Elizabeth was as anxious for the credit of beauty, as of youth. ‘How did she torture Melvill, (says Mr. Walpole) to make him prefer her person to that of his charming queen?’ When she was sixty-seven, she smiled on the Dutch ambassador, who told her, that “for *beauty* and wisdom, she excelled all the princes of the world.” Lady Rich, too, in supplicating

In the mean time, the Lord Montjoy, seconded ^{A.D. 1600.} by the Earl of Ormond and Sir George Carew, Ireland had chastised * the rebel Tyrone, and restored the quieted. kingdom of Ireland to a short-lived peace; a circumstance, by comparison, not favorable to Essex.

The fall of the noble, but rash and misguided, ^{1601.} Essex, sadly opened the year 1601. Driven to despair by the apprehension of ruin, he madly attempted to arm the populace, who doted on his frank and generous character, against the firm throne of Elizabeth. Having garrisoned his house in the Strand, and imprisoned therein three privy-councillors who had been sent to enquire into his proceedings, he roamed through the city of London at the head of two hundred armed men, crying, ‘For the queen! for the queen! my life is in danger.’ But the Lord Mayor had ordered the citizens to keep within doors; and Essex, having been proclaimed a traitor by the Earl of Cumberland,

NOTES.

supplicating for her brother Essex, speaks of ‘her majesty’s beauty,’ of her brother’s service ‘to her beauties;’ and remarks, that her excellent *beauties* and perfections should feel more compassion.’ Her features grew strong as she grew old; she, therefore, would not permit those who painted her to add shade to her portraits. ‘Shade,’ she said, ‘was an accident, and not naturally existent in the face.’ From the same principle she always gave audience by day-light, and frequently in the open air, as the shades had then less force.

[ROYAL AND NOBLE AUTHORS.]

A.D. 1601. Cumberland, saw his followers shrink from his banner, and it was not without the loss of some of his few remaining friends that he could force a passage back to his house. There he was assailed by the lord-admiral Nottingham with a corps of regular troops, and soon obliged to surrender at discretion. The privy-counsellors had been before released by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who is supposed to have acted as a spy on the motions of Essex.*

Essex tried and executed.

The trial and condemnation of this unhappy nobleman soon followed his apprehension. It was then that the enthusiasm of piety again possessed the whole frame of Essex. He wept over his faults, confessed all his machinations, and even related the designs of his friends in his favor, an avowal which, in his cooler moments, he would have abhorred. The queen signed the warrant for his death with an almost convulsive reluctance, but soon countermanded it, apparently waiting for some humble application which might give her an excuse for shewing mercy. None, however, came, and resentment at finding her compassion (as she believed) set at nought, gave her powers to order the execution of the hapless Essex. [107] He fell

NOTES.

[107] Marechal Biron ridiculed the death of Essex as not being that of a soldier; and he, when soon after he also ended his life on a scaffold, died like a frantic coward. [SULLY.]

* Camden, p. 630. State Trials.

sell with dignity; pious, but not dejected, he desired to be beheaded privately within the Tower, ^{A.D. 1601:} lest the sight of the people,* who he knew would lament his fate, might turn his thoughts from heaven. [108]

Sir Walter Raleigh, the great foe of Essex, blemished his own fame by appearing at the earl's execution; nor did his excuse (the apprehension that Essex at his death might wish to speak to him) by any means vindicate his conduct. The unfortunate earl had run a long career of glory and favor in a few years; he died at thirty-four. Four of his associates were tried and executed.

Cuffe,

NOTES.

[108] The romantic bravery of Essex had gained him the hearts of the Londoners, who were used to see him returning, frequently triumphant, from perilous exploits. He was as popular in song as Robin Hood; one of the numerous ballads to his honor ends thus :

' Oh, then bespoke the 'prentices all,
Living in London both proper and tall,
(In a kind letter sent straight to the queen)
For ' Essex's sake' they would fight all !

[EVANS'S BALLADS.]

It is a singular circumstance that, while Philip of Spain thought Essex a foe so consequential, that he endeavored to have him taken off by poison, the Roman Catholics should wish to gain him for their protector as a man of moderation, it being frequently in his mouth, that ' he wished not to have any one murthered for his religion.' Essex had been the patron of Spencer and of Bacon.

* Bacon, vol. iv. p. 531.

A.D. 1601. Cuffe, whose counsels had precipitated him; Davers, Blount, and Meyric. Southampton [109] (for whom Essex had felt much more than for himself) was spared, but remained a prisoner in the Tower while the queen lived. It was not generous in Elizabeth to order her late favorite's memory to be defamed by a sermon at St. Paul's Cross; some sparks of indignation remaining in her that were unquenched, even by his blood.
His character. Yet, in spite of his foes' malice, and of his own faults, scarcely does any character in history interest the reader of English history so much as that of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. His person was beautiful, and his spirit gallant and enterprizing; at eighteen, he distinguished himself near Zutphen, where Sir Philip Sidney fell, whose widow he married; at twenty-two he joined as a volunteer in the enterprize to place Don Antonio on the throne of Portugal, and challenged the governor of Corunna to single combat. At the siege of Rouen, in France, he defied Villars, the commandant, to fight him on foot or on horseback; 'I will make you,' said he, 'own that I

am

NOTES.

[109] A favorite cat (a unique among her capricious, ungrateful race) is said to have found her way to Southampton's prison by means of a chimney; and to have partaken and consoled the solitude of her master. Mr. Pennant mentions a picture of the earl at Bulstrode, attended by his faithful animal; a kind of confirmation to the tale.

am better than you, and that my mistress is fairer ^{A.D. 1601.} than yours.' His aversion to Philip of Spain was shewn in a style too haughty for a private man. 'I will teach,' he used to write, 'that proud king to know,' &c. &c. Elizabeth approved not of this liberty with a crowned head, although her most hated enemy.*

The pensioners and spies of Essex in foreign courts were as numerous as those of Walsingham. He was always an admirer of Elizabeth, and, at a very early period of his life, insulted Sir Charles Blount for wearing an enamelled chess-queen on his arm, which his sovereign had given him on account of his gallantry at a tilt. 'Now, I perceive,' said he, 'that every fool must have a favor.' Sir Charles fought him in Marybone Park, disarmed and wounded him.

It was still early in 1601, when ambassadors James arrived from James of Scotland. Whatever was gains ground in their original commission, (which, from circumstances + since discovered, appears to have been connected with the enterprize of Essex ‡) the apparent errand was that of congratulation to Elizabeth on her late deliverance. The prudent queen, conscious of her successor's increasing interest in her own cabinet, received the message kindly, without examining into its sincerity; and added

* Royal and Noble Authors vol. i. p. 127.

† Spotiswood, p. 464.

‡ Johnstone, p. 289. Birch, vol. ii. p. 510.

A.D. 1601. added 2000l. to the pension of the needy prince.

The ambassadors, who were men of talents, are believed, during their stay in London, to have negotiated in the court of Elizabeth with equal secrecy and success, and to have effectually smoothed their master's path to the English throne. The important advice, and even the regular correspondence, of the secretary Cecil, they certainly secured.

Transactions on the Flemish coast, where Sir Francis Vere, with a few English soldiers, [110] defended Ostend against the vast force of the Arch-

duke

NOTES.

[110] The great loss of the English in one assault, and the bravery of their conduct, may be found well detailed in Camden's complete history; where he tells us of ' Esquire John Carewe, of Antony, in Cornwall,' who seeing his arm carried off by a cannon ball to a very considerable distance from him, followed it, picked it up, and calmly carried it back into the town.

The extract which follows, taken from Collins's Peerage, Art. Percy, will prove, that to refuse a challenge grounded on motives of private spleen, is consistent with the character of a brave and tried soldier; perhaps no one else can do it.

In 1602, are dated many papers relating to a most regular defiance which passed between Henry Earl of Northumberland, and Sir Francis Vere, in consequence of a misunderstanding while they both served in Ostend. The earl directs his letter, ' to the vallorous and worthie captayne Sir Frauncis,' &c. Yet, in one of them, he ' protests that Sir Frauncis Veere was a knave and cowarde; and that in flearinge and gearinge lyke a common buffoon, would wronge men of all conditions, and had neyther the honestye nor the courage to satisfye any.'

The

duke Albert, had at this juncture drawn Henry IV. of France to the shores of the British Channel; both Elizabeth and the French monarch earnestly wished for an interview; but reasons of state and of œconomy prevented the measure, and they contented themselves with reciprocal messages of amity.

Elizabeth had never been in greater hazard of losing Ireland, than in 1601. ^{Montjoy reduces the Irish and Spaniards.} Economy, and a mistaken policy, had tempted her to pay the troops in that country with a debased coin. Her generals, while exerting themselves to prevent a mutiny on this score, were alarmed by two separate Spanish invasions, each seconded by the faithless Tyrone and his numerous dependents; the bravery and conduct, however, of Montjoy and Carew, and the good fortune of the English queen, dissipated this perilous confederacy, and reduced every Spaniard to surrender at discretion. Yet in one spot the Spaniards and their allies had mustered 7,000 men;* while in Kinsale (which they

NOTES.

This Sir Francis answers thus: ‘ Because I refused to mee^t you upon your peremptorye and foolishe summons, you conclude mee, &c. &c. to be a knave, a cowarde, and a buffoon; whereupon you have procured mee to set aside all respecte to your person, and to saye that “ you are a most lyinge and unworthe lord.” ’

The queen interferred and prevented the duel. Many more particulars may be found in Collins’s Peerage, Art. Percy.

* Winwood, vol. i. p. 369.

A.D. 1601. they meant to relieve) Don John D'Aguilar lay with 4,000 veterans, and many rebellious natives. The foreigners were sent safely to Spain ; and D'Aguilar gave to his court so discouraging an account of Tyrone and the Irish attached to his interest, that no more supplies of men were sent from Spain, although the revolters were still aided with ammunition.

It was now that Elizabeth stood in great need of money. Her Parliament granted it to her liberally ; and she in return assured her commons, that she would annul the most odious among the grants of monopoly. She kept her word, and relieved her people from some of those patents which impeded the free sale of salt, oil, starch, and other commodities; the commons thanked her and were dissolved.

*Monopo-
lies reduct-
ed in
numbers.*

The year 1601 was witness to a laudable exertion of a despotic tribunal, the Star-chamber, on behalf of the distressed and injured Lettice, Lord Essex's widow. [111]

Though

NOTES.

[111] During the agonies with which her husband's trial affected her, this poor lady had concealed in a private cabinet some letters which she thought would hurt the earl's cause. A wicked domestic having discovered them, had the inhumanity to threaten the countess, (then lying in) that he would send the pieces to the secretary of state, unless she would pay him 3000l. With difficulty the poor lady raised 1170l. For this large sum the treacherous villain only gave her some of the letters, and reserved the rest to give in evidence against his master.

The

Though far advanced in life, and harrassed by ^{A.D. 1602.} private misfortune, [112] Elizabeth still continued to pursue the Spaniards with unceasing spirit. Her fleets under Levison and Monson sought the ^{Elizabeth harrasses Spain by sea.} Indian ships at the Azores, but they were guarded by so strong a squadron, that Levison, who had lost his consort, could not succeed against them.* Joining afterwards with Monson, he forced a passage into Cerimbra in Portugal, where lay a rich carack

NOTES.

The Star-chamber took up this matter, fined the wretch 3000l. and nailed his ears to the pillory ; 2000l. of the fine were given to the countess.

[CAMDEN.]

[112] The ingratitude and fall of Essex had almost driven the high-spirited daughter of Henry VIII. to phrensy. Read a letter in the *Nugæ Antiquæ* from Sir John Harrington, dated late in 1601. ‘ She is much disfavored and unattired, and these troubles waste her much. She disregardeth everie costlie cover that cometh to her table, and taketh little but manchet and succory pottage. Every new message from the city doth disturb her, and she frowns on all the ladies.’ Again, ‘ the many evill plots and designs hath overcome her highness’s sweet temper. She walks much in her privy chamber, and stamps much at ill news ; and thrusts her rusty sword at times into the arras in great rage.’ Again, ‘ The dangers are over and yet she keeps a sword by her table ;’ and in the P. S. ‘ so disordered is all order, that her highness has worne but one change of rayment for many daies, and swears much at those that cause her griefs in such wise, to the no small discomfiture of those that are about her ; more especially our sweete Lady Arundel,’ &c. In another letter, ‘ she often chides for small neglect, in such wise as to make these fayre maides often cry and bewail in piteous sort.’

* Monson’s Tracts, p. 181.

A.D. 1602. carack guarded by eleven galleys, all which he destroyed or put to flight, and took the great ship, which produced a million of ducats. Other naval successes against Spain marked the year 1602. Nor had a celebrated Genoese commander, the Marquis Spinola, better fortune than the native Spaniards; a fleet of armed galleys under his command, venturing into the British Channel, were attacked by Sir Robert Mansel with a small force, and either destroyed or utterly dispersed.

Montjoy
subdues
the Irish
rebels.

The war in Ireland was now closed in the most honorable manner by the prudence and activity of the lord-deputy Montjoy, whom the magnanimous Elizabeth had continued in his government, notwithstanding his almost treasonable attachment to the hapless Essex. The arch-rebel Tyrone was, by perpetual defeats, at length reduced to despair, while his wretched followers, exposed both to the miseries of sword and famine, perished by thousands; he yielded himself to the lord-deputy, and in the most submissive posture humbly sued for pardon.* When this was reported to the queen, she refused to shew any mercy to so notorious a traitor: her ministers, however, overpowered her resentment; Tyrone was, on the most humiliating terms, admitted to forgiveness, and every district of Ireland acknowledged the sovereignty of Elizabeth.

Many

* Camden, p. 652.

Many letters passed about this time between ^{A.D. 1602.} Henry of France and the English queen, concerning the conspiracy which he had discovered, and which was headed by Marechal Biron; the Duke de Bouillon was involved in the guilt; and Elizabeth, by writing in his favor, gave some offence to her old friend and ally.

Within the date of 1602, the secular priests of the Romish faith, settled in England, complained loudly of the Jesuits, whose turbulent and regicidal principles, they affirmed, had made the whole body of Roman Catholic ecclesiastics odious to the English government, and caused a new and severe proclamation * to be issued against them. [113] In consequence of this protest, some favor

NOTES.

[113] Their plaints reached the ear of Pope Clement VIII. and he restrained the sons of Loyola by a bull. The revengeful brotherhood in a year or two wrote against the infallibility of the papal chair; and the pontiff in return denied to the founder of the Jesuits the honor of canonization.

[DE THOU, CAMDEN, &c.]

The memorial which the世俗s published did honor to their own candor, and to the clemency of the English queen. It proved, that during the first eleven years of her reign not one Roman Catholic, layman or priest, was molested for his religion. That during the next twelve years only twelve priests had been executed, and those mostly for treason. But that after 1580, when the Jesuits entered the island, fifty had been put to death and fifty-five banished. [CAMDEN.]

There is a mystery that shrouds these transactions which can

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xvi. p. 473, 489.

A.D. 1602. favor was shewn to the seculars by Elizabeth, who had just discovered a new plot against her, in which Tesmond, a Jesuit, and one Thomas Winter, were the conspirators.

1603. And now a dark cloud was about to overcast the evening of that day which had shone out with such lustre in the eyes of all Europe.* Melancholy of the most black and immoveable kind, in 1603, overpowered the faculties of Elizabeth, and rendered her insensible to every foreign and domestic success. Some have imputed this dreadful visitation to the anxious jealousy which she felt at that attention which her penetrating eye had discerned among her courtiers [114]

towards

NOTES.

can never (now) be shaken off. The seculars seem to have acquainted Elizabeth with many instances of a dark and suspicious correspondence between Scotland and Rome. Henry IV. of France was strangely alarmed at it, and directed his ambassadors to watch the motions of James's residents. Yet, from the indifference of Elizabeth on this subject, we must suppose that there was no really dangerous project on foot. Perhaps an examination into the conduct and character of the Queen of Scotland, Anne of Denmark, may solve the mystery. She is said to have had agents at Rome unknown to James.

[114] The following curious anecdote is mentioned by a venerable author. Henry IV. of France seems to have had some mysterious project concerning the English crown. He had answered the Duke of Lenox abruptly, when sent by James a little before this period to sound his sentiments, and he

now

* Huine,

towards James of Scotland. There is, however, A.D. 1603.
a much more probable cause to be alleged: the tale till lately has been thought a fiction; but papers, which have been within a few years past laid before the public, give strong authority to believe it true.*

When the Earl of Essex was in the highest favor with his royal mistress, he once ventured to tell her of the perpetual anxiety which beset him when duty demanded his absence, lest his rivals, who he knew surrounded her, should deprive him of her good opinion; and he should be condemned, unheard, to lose her smiles, which he valued more than his life. The queen, affected with his earnestness, gave him from her finger a ring as a pledge of her esteem; promising at the same time that, let his situation be ever so desperate, at the sight

NOTES.

now made his ambassador intimate to Cecil what danger he must sustain on the accession of the son of that queen, to whom he had been such an enemy. But the wary courtier only answered him by moral sentences, and communicated the overture to James, protesting at the same time the fidelity of his own attachment; ‘Albeit he would not, *as some others had done*, needlessly hazard his fortune and reputation before the time.’ The king of Scots answered him, that he did right to be cautious; ‘for,’ said he, honestly enough, ‘the loss of your fortune and reputation would render you the less valuable to my interest.’

[SPOTISWOOD.]

* Birch’s Negotiations, p. 206. Birch’s Memoirs, vol. ii., p. 481, 505.

A.D. 1603. sight of that token she would give him audience, and hear him with candor. Essex preserved this precious gift through all his disgraces, until after he was sentenced to death, and then he thought the time was come to prove its value.

Unhappily it was the Countess of Nottingham to whom he entrusted the conscious jewel; a more unfit messenger he could not have found; since, besides the animosity borne to him by the lord-admiral, her husband, the lady herself is believed to have loved Essex, and to have bitterly felt the pangs of disappointment when he married another woman.

In short, she carried not the ring; and Elizabeth, after contriving many delays, disgusted at the obstinacy of her favorite, (who, she believed, despised her mercy) signed the warrant for his execution.

Nottingham, in 1603, drawing near her end, sent a pressing message to the queen, to entreat a sight of her majesty before her death. Elizabeth, who had dearly loved her, flew to the summons; but when she had heard the soul-harrowing confession, she grasped the expiring criminal, shook her, and almost tore her from her bed; ‘*God*,’ said she, ‘*may* forgive you, but *I* never can.’ From that moment she rejected all consolation, and not only refused medicines, but even necessary food. Ten days and nights she lay on a carpet, leaning her head on a cushion, and not permitting herself

herself to be put into bed.* Nature now appeared almost exhausted ; and her great officers, despairing of her life, ventured to ask, ‘ whom she would have for her successor ?’ To this she faintly answered, that ‘ her throne was a throne of kings ;’ and, by signs, agreed to the appointment of James the son of Mary. Soon after she ~~She dies.~~^{A.D. 1603.} expired, [115] having expressed with her last breath her trust in the Almighty. [116]

The

NOTES.

[115] On the 24th of March, 1603, aged sixty-nine years six months and seven days.

[116] Among the numberless tributes of the muses to the perfections of Elizabeth, the following is not the least elegant :

Juno potens sceptris et mentis acumine Pallas,
Et roseo Veneris fulget in ore decor :
Adfuit Elizabeth—Juno perculta refugit,
Obstupuit Pallas, erubuitque Venus,

Imitated.

Tho' Juno boast her power, tho' Pallas shine
In wit, tho' Venus vaunt her charms divine;
Behold Eliza comes, sham'd Juno fled,
For envy Venus blush'd, and Pallas hung her head.

P.

Nor are the following lines (which a great antiquary styles ‘ passionate and doleful ’) without true affection, although they will probably cause more smiles than tears.

The queene was brought by water to Whitehall,
At every stroke the oares their tears let fall;

Swans

* Strype, vol. iv. No. 276.

A.D. 1605.

The person of the deceased queen was stout, tall, and rather masculine ; her complexion was fair, and her hair yellow : as to the qualities of her mind they were paradoxical ; though in general œconomical, she was sometimes wildly profuse : she had a comprehensive understanding, and yet could descend to the most ill-founded and trivial attachments, [117] and the most unwomanly fits of

NOTES.

Swans clung about the barge, fish under water
Wept out their eyes of pearle, and swome blind after;
I thinke the barg men might with easier thighes,
Have row'd her thither in her people's eyes;
But howsoe'er (thus much my thoughts have scan'd)
Sh'ad come by water, had she come by land.

[117] Besides the fondness which she showed to the last for her own wrinkled and faded charms, she doted so much on fine habits, that she is said to have left in her wardrobe 3000 various suits of clothes. Yet, although to gain the suffrage of Melvill in favor of her beauty, she dressed every day in the varied attire of some new nation, she yet is never painted or engraved unless loaded with pearls, and enormous in her ruff. ‘ It happenede,’ says Sir John Harrington, ‘ that Ladie M. Howarde was possessede of a rich border powdered wyth golde and pearle, and a velvet suit belonginge thereto, which moved many to envye; nor did it please the queen, who thoughte it exceeded her owne. One day the queen did send privately and got the ladie's rich vesture which she put on herself, and came forthe the chambre amonge the ladies. The kertle and border were far too short for her majestie's height, and she askede every one, “ How they likede her new fashioned suit?” At lengthe, she asked the owner herself, “ If it was not made too short and ill-becoming?”

which

of passion.[118] Her spirit was masculine, and her courage undaunted ;[119] her speech at Tilbury camp was expressive of true bravery, and inspired her soldiers with patriotism and valor ; when Essex was leading a party of rebels through her capital she was calm and unconcerned : nor had she shewn the smallest symptom of fear, when she had reason to believe that Spain, France, and Scotland, were ready to join the mal-contents in her realm with their united force : Yet a worthless,

NOTES.

which the poor ladie did readilye consent to. “ Why then, if it becomes not *mee* as being too *short*, I am mynded it shall never become *thee* as being too *fine*. ” [NUGÆ ANTIQUE

[118] When her majesty was moved she swore heartily, and was by no means sparing of her blows. Indeed, the history of the chastisements bestowed by the right hand of Elizabeth, from her first exertion upon record (when entering* the Tower to certain death, as she thought) related by Holingshed, to the last bitter shake which she bestowed on the malicious Nottingham, including her menacing Sir James Melvill with her first when he surprized her playing on the virginals, the blows lavished on her maids of honor, and the memorable box on the ear bestowed on the gallant Essex, might afford great amusement. The celebrated and ill-judged letter from Mary to Elizabeth (see page 123) is very copious on this subject.

[119] The eccentric Pope Sixtus V. was heard to wish for one evening’s conversation with Elizabeth in her younger times : ‘ The produce’ (said the sanguine pontiff) ‘ must have been an Alexander.’ [BURNET’S REFORMATION.

* ‘ He offered to hir his cloke ; which she, putting it backe with hir hand with a good dash, refused.’

A.D. 1603. less, unprincipled minion, a Leicester, could overawe this great but inconsistent mind ; and could extort in 1598, from a mistress who knew him to be a baffled, heartless soldier, a commission to preside over the military force of England.

Far from being deficient in accomplishments, Elizabeth was really learned ; danced, sung, and wrote well ; and, as a poet,[120] equalled most of her contemporaries : what her sentiments as to religion

NOTES.

[120] Even in the trifling rebus, Elizabeth could deign to excel. Few of the species are superior to that which she made on Mr. Noel :

- ‘ The word of denial, and letter of fifty,
- ‘ Are that gentleman’s name, who will never be thrifty.’

[COLLINS’S PEERAGE.]

That she was favored by the muse in more serious compositions, the following interesting verses will testify. They were probably made when she was displeased with Papists or Puritans. The mention of ‘ her rustie sword’ is highly characteristic. Possibly Mary Stuart and Norfolk were in her thoughts when she penned the *fifth* and *sixth* stanzas, and the missionaries returning from Douay, or perhaps from Geneva, when the *seventh*.

I.

The dread of future foes,
Exyles my present joye ;
And wit me warns to shunne such snares
As thretten mine annoye.

II.

For falshoode now dothe flowe,
And subjects faith dothe ebbe,
Which should not be, if reason rul’d,
Or wisdom wove the webbe.

II. But

religion were, cannot, perhaps, be properly ascertained ; circumstances we know must have, at any rate, fixed her in the Protestant faith. A.D. 1603.

The

NOTES.

III.

But clouds of joys untry'd,
Do cloak aspiring minds ;
Which turne to rage of late report.
By course of changed kindes.

IV.

The topes of hope suppose,
The roote of rewe shall be ;
And fruitless of their grafted guyle,
As shortlie all shall see.

V.

The dazzled eyes, with pride
And great ambition blynde,
Shall be unseal'd by worthy wightes,
Whose foresights falsehood fynde.

VI.

The daughter of debate,
That discord aye doth sowe,
Shall reape no gaine where former rule
Still peace has taughte to flowe.

VII.

No forrain banish'd wight
Shall ankor in this port,
Our realme brooks no seditious sects,
Let them elsewhere resort.

VIII.

My rustie sword through reste
Shall firste his edge employe,
To polle the topes that seek such change,
Or gape for such-like joye.

A. D. 1603. The English common people were certainly happier during her reign than they had ever before been, and to this day they retain a grateful regard for her memory. Yet she was no friend to liberty, but watchfully checked those faint dawning of its splendor, which now and then pervaded the gloom of despotism; nor was the administration of justice in her time calculated to secure either life or property. Had she lived in a private station, Elizabeth would perhaps have been hated and ridiculed; on a throne, she was enabled to hide her less commendable qualities under the blaze of a vast and magnanimous heroism. The sagacity of her counsellors, the bravery of her commanders by sea and land, were strong proofs of the strength of that discernment, which could discover and employ such talents in properly adapted services.

In fine, when the weak and spiritless state of England, at the crisis of the decease of Mary, is considered; and when we find the condition of the realm so altered in the space of a few years by the witchcraft of Elizabeth's abilities, that, like her father Henry, she was enabled to hold the balance of Europe; when we find the Protestant faith firmly settled in England, the commerce of the island increased, her fleets become powerful, and her friendship earnestly sought for by all nations, we cannot, without the greatest injustice, withhold the tribute of praise and gratitude from this glorious, although not faultless sovereign.

HISTOR Y
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.—PART. II.

SECTION I.

THE CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY OF SCOTLAND,
FROM THE ACCESSION OF MARY, A. D. 1542, TO
HER FLIGHT INTO ENGLAND, A. D. 1568.

THE confusion in which the government of Scotland was involved by the rout of Solway, the death of the king, and the age and sex of the infant Mary, the undoubted successor to the throne, was unutterable; sunk in the darkest gloom, the unfortunate James V. had neglected every precaution, and had left the education of his daughter and the administration of his realm utterly to the decision of chance.

The Regency found two immediate claimants. Competitors for the Regency. The one, Cardinal Beatoun, an insolent unfeeling

A.D. 1542. priest, a persecutor of the reformed more through policy than bigotry, subtle in counsel and violent in action; his claim was grounded on a testament which he produced, as written by the deceased prince;* the forgery was, however, so very apparent, that it ruined his cause, and united every voice in favor of the Earl of Arran, a prince of the blood, inclined to the reformed faith, gentle in his nature, but rendered by a weak constitution, and a fickleness of disposition, still more unfit for the government of a turbulent people than his austere and unpopular competitor. In the interim, the English monarch, into whose hands the fatal rout of Solway had thrown all the martial nobility of Scotland, instantly conceived the plan of uniting the island-realms by marrying his son Edward to the infant Mary. With Henry VIII. there was little interval between the design and execution. He treated the captive lords with hospitality, and at a convivial party to which he invited them, he at the same time[†] proposed and obtained their joint consent[1] to his favorite

Match projected by Henry VIII.

NOTES.

[1] It seems to have been now, that the court of England first discovered the true system of treating with a fierce but not opulent nation; or, to use the words of an elegant historian, ‘The situation of the country, and the bravery of the people made the conquest of Scotland impossible; but the national poverty, and the violence of faction rendered it an easy

* Sadleir's Letters, p. 161. Holingshed, p. 959.

vorite project. They were all released and permitted to repair homewards, on this condition alone, ‘that they should return as prisoners, if any obstacle should prevent the accomplishment of the match.’

When the lords, accompanied by Sir Ralph Sadleir * the ambassador of Henry, and by the Earls of Angus and Douglas, chiefs long resident in England, reached Edinburgh, every thing seemed to favor their commission. A strong party, including the Protestants, was eager to unite with England; and the cardinal, who alone was capable of exciting a faction to counteract the measure, by being thrown into prison was rendered inactive. Terms of alliance were proposed by Henry; and, after having been modified by the Scottish parliament so as to secure the total independence of the kingdom, were accepted by the regent and the legislature. +

But the artful cardinal, having regained his liberty, soon changed the face of affairs. His intrigues excited numbers to oppose the treaty; some from motives of religion, and others, of national

NOTES.

easy matter to divide and to govern it.’ The original warrants for remitting the large sums into Scotland, during more than one minority, are still extant. [BURNET, ROBERTSON.]

* Herbert, p. 234.

+ Rym. Fœd. tom. xiv. p. 781, 796.

A.D. 1543. national animosity and rivalry. He confined the queen-dowager and the infant-queen, insulted the ambassador of Henry, and treated with contempt the new agreement with the English nation: the timid, unsteady regent he so completely overawed, that he persuaded him not only to renounce the Arran ab-
jures Protestant-
ism. English alliance,* but publicly to abjure the Protestant doctrines, and to join in a most active persecution of his late brethren in the gospel.

The versatility of Arran proved fatal to the interest of Matthew, Earl of Lenox, an accomplished young nobleman, nearly [2] related to the crown of Scotland. The cardinal had invited him from France that he might oppose him to the interest of the regent; but, as he had now found in Arran a suppleness equal to his wishes, he neglected the new-comer as unnecessary to his designs: Lenox, who felt the insult, employed the money which he had received from France, England. for other purposes, in raising troops; and, by the celerity

NOTES.

[2] Arran and Lenox claimed by descent from the princess Mary, daughter of James II. and wife to James, Lord Hamilton; to whom they both were grandsons: but, as the legitimacy of Arran depended on a divorce which his father had obtained from a pope against Elizabeth Home, a former wife, the subtle cardinal easily persuaded him how much it was his interest to support the Church of Rome, and all her decrees.

[CRAUFURD'S PEERAGE.]

* Sadleir's Letters, p. 339, 356.

celerity of his motions, had nearly surprized the cardinal and the royal family ; but suffering himself to be deluded by the deceitful promises of Beatoun, he found their accomplishment delayed until his money was gone, and his soldiers for want of pay had quitted him. He had now no course left but to seek refuge with the English forces which Henry, making policy give way to resentment, had sent to * revenge the capricious conduct of the Scottish administration. Lenox was received with open arms, and the Lady Margaret Douglas, niece to the king, given to him in marriage ; although the steady patriotism of his dependents had prevented him from delivering up Dunbarton to England, as he had engaged to do.

The ravages which the English army made in ^{Their r-} a surprised and defenceless country, have already ^{vages.} been told in a former division ; and although it is frequently necessary, in writing the history of the sister kingdoms, to repeat many circumstances, these are the events one would least choose to dwell upon.

Suffice it then to say, that the troops of Henry, having reduced to ashes Edinburgh and Leith, with villages, castles, &c. without number, retired to the English borders after a most inhuman campaign, + which had added little to his dominions,

but

* Holingshed, p. 961.

+ Hall, p. 258. Holingshed, p. 963.

A.D. 1544. but had nearly united the Scots in a general detestation of any connection with a prince who irritated but not subdued. The Scots could resort to so ‘ coarse a method of wooing.’

The war was carried on during the next two years in the same destructive manner by the impolitic Henry, and with the same fatal indolence on the part of Scotland: once, indeed, an English detachment under Sir Ralph Evers was defeated with the loss of 1000 men * by Norman Leslie, a gallant partisan, son to the Lord Rothes; and a strong body of French troops under Des Lorges landing in Scotland at that period, seemed to promise considerable aid to the cardinal’s party; but that insolent and brutal priest found means to affront the commander (whom he disliked) so grossly, that he never would afterwards agree to an interview, even for the most necessary consultations concerning the war. This dispute, and the extreme inexperience of the regent and of the cardinal in military operations, exposed the country to new and ruinous inroads; but no great event occurred before the month of June, 1546,

The French aid Scotland.

when the magnanimity of Francis I. of France, procured a peace for his faithful allies at his own cost; + for no other motive could have probably induced him to lay down his arms while Boulogne was in the power of England. But this is a solitary

* Buchanan, lib. xv.

+ Herbert, p. 255. Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 95.

tary instance of good faith in a nation for whose cause Scotland had exerted unremitting valor, and suffered innumerable hardships, during a series of three hundred years.

Even this peace never came to effect; for the death of Francis falling out precisely at that period, his successor refused to ratify the agreement.

Before the final settling of this important treaty, the imperious and inhuman Beatoun met the fate he had long merited;* and the castle of St. Andrews, in which the cardinal had fallen, was defended for a considerable time, by those who had slain him, against the whole military force [3] of Scotland. These valiant assassins were supplied from time to time, by sea, with money, arms, and provisions, from the English king; and it is probable that the Scottish regent was cautious of driving them to despair, as his son, whom the cardinal had kept near him as a kind of hostage, was now in their power.

But at the crisis when they expected to be relieved by Henry, at the head of a powerful army, 1547. that

NOTES.

[3] The whole train which the regent could bring against the castle, seems to have consisted of only two battering cannon, named ‘ Crook-mow and Dumb Meg.’ [LINDSAY.]

The battle at Flodden had deprived Scotland of her finest pieces of ordnance, and the confusion of the succeeding minority had given no leisure for reparation.

* Burnet’s Reformation, vol. i. p. 333. Buchanan, lib. xv.

A. D. 1547. that active and impetuous monarch breathed his last; and the necessary attention to the ceremonials of his son's accession, prevented the immediate march of the English army, and gave time for Henry II. of France to send Leon Strozzi, a veteran officer, with troops and artillery, who soon reduced the conspirators to extremities. They insisted, however, on the most honorable terms; their lives and goods to be safe, and themselves to be treated as prisoners of war in France. The castle was the only sufferer; it was razed to the ground as having been the scene of a cardinal's murther.

St. Andrew's
castle
taken.

An invasion of the north by the Protector of England,* came too late to save the tenants of the castle. We have already seen in the English history the event of that invasion, and how the army of the Duke of Somerset, after having escaped from extreme danger merely by the inexperience of the Scottish regent, gained the battle of Pinkie, (or Musselburgh) and in consequence had the whole country at discretion.

How the Protector lost these advantages by the turbulent state of affairs at home, which obliged him to return southwards without taking the necessary measures to secure a port where succors might be landed for the troops which were left in

* Holingshed, p. 980. Hayward, p. 279.

in garrison at Haddington, &c. has been already A.D. 1547.
related. It is only necessary to say, that the wayward star which directed the fortune of England at this period, turned even her brightest successes into misfortunes; and that it was the terror consequent to the loss of the battle of Pinkie, which hurried on the Scots to the fatal plan of delivering their infant queen into the hands of the French. This measure was steadily opposed Mary sent to France. 1548. by a moderate party, who foresaw in the measure, dependence on France, ruin to the reformed, and perpetual war with England. But the interest of the queen dowager, (who was sister to the Duke of Guise) of the regent, who was promised a pension and the French dukedom of Chatelherault, and of the clergy, who dreaded the religion as much as the politics of England, overpowered the voice of reason, and young Mary embarked for France, the destined spouse of the Dauphin. She was received with transport at that elegant court where Catharine di Medicis presided; and an education allotted to her, which, if it did not guard the purity of her infant mind, most certainly added every possible grace and accomplishment to her person.

Mean while Henry II. of France, grateful for the boon he had received, sent Dessé, a favorite general, with a strong auxiliary corps, to assist in driving the English from their acquisitions in Scotland. The new commander was not fortu-

A. D. 1548. nate ; he besieged Haddington,* a fort which in-commoded the capital, in vain. He made indeed, a plundering inroad into England with some success ; [4] but on his return to Edinburgh, French insolence. he so far countenanced the natural insolence of his countrymen, that, in a trifling debate about quarters, his soldiers took up arms and slew Hamil-ton, Provost of Edinburgh, a veteran officer, and his son ; besides several citizens of distinction who interposed in the fray. For this temerity Dessé was recalled ; and De Thermes, a man of a more conciliating disposition, was sent to Scotland in his room : with him arrived Mont-luc Bishop of Valence, who was appointed by the regent Chancellor of the kingdom ; but was soon frightened from his office by the unconcealed signs of disgust which the fierce, unpolished Scots scrupled not to afford him, and returned in haste to his own country. [5]

De

NOTES.

[4] A high-spirited English priest of Northumberland, vex-ed to the soul at seeing these depredations carried on with impunity, and himself a captive, threw himself on the ground, refused meat and drink, kept his eyes resolutely shut, and died. This is said to have astonished the French beyond measure.

[HIST. OF REFORMATION.]

[5] Read Melyill's Memoirs for a very laughable tale of the Bishop of Valence's reception by O'Dogherty, a hospitable sa-vage, at Loch Foyle in Ireland, on his return to France. And of the laudable pains taken by two friars to provide him with a ' harlot' that could speak English.

* Holingshed, p. 995. Buchanan, lib. xv.

De Thermes, taking advantage of the insurrections in England, and the divisions in its cabinet, which prevented any military exertions, reduced Broughty castle ; and obliged the garrison to evacuate the fortress of Haddington.* In these enterprizes, he found no affectionate aid from the natives ; that insolence with which the French have ever been used to behave to foreign nations, had already soured the irritable temper of their antient allies, and there were few among the Scots who did not already wish the fatal voyage of Mary recalled.

A peace which soon occurred, + delivered Scotland from these odious auxiliaries ; but as the same predilection for French counsels appeared among the rulers, and as the sovereign was in French hands, the independence of the kingdom was no more. [6]

It

NOTES.

[6] A stronger proof of this fact cannot be demanded, than the total neglect in the articles of peace with which Panter, the ambassador of Scotland, who was present at the conferences, is treated. His name never once occurs ; but the interests of Scotland are undertaken by the commissioners of France.

[Rym. Fœd. tom. xv.

Bitterly were the Scots reminded of this surrender of their independence, when, on the Master of Erskine's application to Edward VI. for an explanation of some part of the treaty relative

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 255, 273.

+ Holingshed's Scotland, p. 351.

A. D. 1550. It was now that the ambition, natural to the house of Guise, and the interested counsels of her Policy of the queen. brothers, excited the queen-dowager to aim at dowager. the sole government of Scotland ; and after a journey* to France, [7] where proper measures for this important change were concerted, she began her operations with all the winning subtlety of her sex. She easily gained to her side the reformed party, (which was not contemptible in numbers or rank) by promising a toleration ; but it was the regent himself with whom she found most need to employ her address ; she corrupted, however, two of his most intimate counsellors, Panter, Bishop of Ross, and Sir Robert Carnegie ; Arran's unsteadiness. and, by their representations, dazzled his unsteady mind with the view of vast advantages from the court of France ;† a pension of 12,000 crowns for

NOTES.

relative to the borders, it was answered, ‘that all such proceedings must pass through the medium of the French king’s ministers ; “and we shall accordingly make answer to him, *with whom the treaty has been concluded, and not with you.*”’

[RYM. Fœd. TOM. XV.

[7] See in Bishop Leslie’s History, a long and curious account of the reception given by Edward VI. of England to Mary of Guise on her return, and of the very interesting conversation between them, concerning the marriage of the young queen. The great politeness, and the total want of sincerity on each side, might have suited a fashionable interview of moderntimes.

* Leslie, lib. x. p. 413. Holingshed’s Scotland, p. 355.

† Buchanan, lib. xv. Leslie, lib. x. p. 410.

for himself; and for his son, the command of the ^{A.D. 1551} Scottish guards. Besides this, she offered peerages in Scotland for all his relations.

A few menaces artfully thrown in, joined in vanquishing the stability of Arran, and he made little difficulty of promising to yield up the regency to the adroit tempter: but his natural brother, the ^{1552.} Archbishop of St. Andrew's, a licentious and unprincipled prelate, yet clear-sighted and resolute, recovering from a dangerous illness [8] which had kept him at a distance during the negotiation, inspired him with other thoughts, made him forfeit his engagements, and during two years rendered the attempt fruitless; nor was it, at last, without strong remonstrances from France, a powerful interposition of the Protestant lords, and even the ^{1553.} interference

NOTES.

[8] That prelate had been recovered from a disease which had brought him to the point of death by Jerome Cardan, a wild philosopher, who, from having studied the powers of nature with an attention uncommon in his time, was reputed a magician, and was not averse from the charge. He received from the archbishop a reward of 1,800 crowns. It was Cardan, of whom it is told, that a friend observing him musing, and making most extraordinary grimaces, asked him the reason: ‘I am endeavoring,’ replied the sage, ‘to form my face into the exact resemblance of him who is to judge a cause of mine, that I may also assimilate my sensations to his, and so dive into his sentiments.’ He died of voluntary hunger in 1576, that he might fulfil a prediction of his own as to the time of his decease.

[DICT. HIST. &c.]

A.D. 1553. terference of the young queen, (now almost twelve years of age) that Arran could be brought to consent that Mary of Guise, the queen-dowager, should be invested with the complete dignity and power of the Scottish regency.*

Mary of
Guise
gains the
regency.

During this period, the sister-nations were in a state of peace, except on the borders[9] and in the Channel, where Edmonstone, a Scot, who had committed numberless piratical depredations, was taken by the English, and only saved from execution by the powerful mediation of the French administration.

1554. The manners of the Scots (at this period more than commonly[10] turbulent) needed to be regulated

NOTES.

[9] In the English council-books, at this period, particular directions are given to the border commanders to protect the Greames. This clan, not acknowledged either by England or Scotland, seems to have wandered like a horde of Tartars, and to have sided with each sister-nation by turns. Some antiquaries have thought them a remnant of the Meatae. James I. of Great Britain took measures, at the beginning of his reign, utterly to annihilate these hereditary pillagers.

[BORDER HISTORY.]

[10] In ‘Lesleus de Origine,’ &c. may be found numerous instances of cool, deliberate murthers committed by divers of the Scots nobility at this juncture; concerning none of which there seems to have been any notice taken by government. The Archbishop of St. Andrew’s and the Earl of Huntley were notorious among these titled assassins. The latter on suspicion only of a private injury, seized William Mac Intosh, the head of a powerful clan, and of his own authority struck off his head.

[UBI SUPRA.]

* Holingshed’s Scotland, p. 357.

gulated by a strong and even hand. Such was A.D. 1554. not that of the new-appointed regent. The love Conduct of the of her native country's interest, and an unlimited regent. devotement to the will of her relations, were the chief features in her character ; and these qualities, amiable in themselves, became, in the possession of the dowager-queen, the bane of her government. Blindly obeying the mandates sent from France, she bestowed the first places in the state on French noblemen ; and thus at once made herself and her country, the objects of Scottish hatred.*

A war now breaking out between England and France, the regent was directed by the French cabinet to raise a land-tax, which might enable her to keep in pay a body of disciplined troops, sufficient to cause an important diversion on the English border. Mary of Guise, however, proceeded no farther on this scheme, than to propose that every landed estate should be registered ; for the very intimation of her design had nearly caused a revolt. Three hundred of the lesser barons, or 'lairds,' boldly remonstrated against a plan which affected their minds, as unconstitutional, unnecessary, and conducive to slavery : and they expressed themselves as more uneasy at the thoughts of establishing stipendiary soldiers, than at raising the

* Leslie, lib. v. p. 521. Holingshed's Scotland, p. 357.

A.D. 1555. the fund to pay them. The prudent regent instantly gave way, and the odium of the intention fell on the foreign counsellors.*

1556. Mary had better success in her next enterprize; that of stirring up a war between the sister-kingdoms. She found, indeed, the nation unwilling to begin the contest; but here she exerted her talents, and artfully, by fortifying a post near Berwick, provoked an attack from the English garrison; an incident which, although justifiable by the last treaty, yet failed not to rouze the animosity of the Scots. An army was straightway raised and marched to the borders; but although D'Oyssel, who led the French auxiliaries, pushed forward, crossed the Tweed and besieged the often-disputed castle of Werk, he found little hope of support from his northern allies. The folly of rushing uninjured into a destructive war, and that merely to promote the interest of a foreign nation, had again presented itself to their minds. They retreated from the Tweed, and the army disbanded; nor (except a few skirmishes, and the usual border-plunderings[11]) did the whole war afford any event worth recording.

War with
England.

It

NOTES.

[11] At one of the meetings held on the borders, A. D. 1555, complaints were made *on each side* of more than a thousand murthers, rapes, and robberies committed. The Lord Dacres, an old and turbulent baron, protected the Greames

* Buchanan, lib. xvi. Leslie, l. x.

It was about this time that the regent, to please ^{A.D. 1557:} the reformed party, (which grateful for her tacit toleration had not opposed her late measures) recalled to their country and estates the long-exiled conspirators against Cardinal Beatoun.* Norman Leslie, their chief, had fallen in battle; [12] but William Kirkaldy, laird of Grange, survived to shine in the annals of Scotland. She then turned her thoughts to the establishment of her authority, which, in the conduct of the English war, she had found to be trivial and ill-supported. The completion of her daughter's union with the dauphin, promised to form her most natural and firmest bulwark; and to expedite that union, was the point in which her wishes centered.

To a marriage which conferred a potent kingdom on the bridegroom, even setting aside the charms

NOTES.

Graemes and the Armstrongs, and encouraged them in their favorite employment, pillage; nor could the menaces of the English or the Scottish Mary reduce him to order.

[BORDER HISTORY.]

[12] Norman Leslie had been protected and pensioned by Edward VI. but at the accession of Mary he was driven from the kingdom; even the arrears of his pension were denied him: 'I see not,' said the old Duke of Norfolk at the council-board, 'why a Catholic prince should maintain the assassin of a cardinal.' Leslie repaired to France, where he was placed high in the military line, and after distinguishing his valor, fell at the battle of Renti, A. D. 1554.

[LINDSAY, MELVILLE.]

* Buchanan, lib. xvi.

Exiles re-called.

A.D. 1557. charms of the lady (indisputably, the greatest beauty in Europe) there could, one might presume, be no objection. Yet there were not wanting those counsellors in the French cabinet, who hesitated as to the policy of the measure. At the head of these was the celebrated constable Anne de Montmorenci. He urged the certainty of a perpetual war with England, as the consequence of the proposed connection; and the extreme fierceness of the Scots, which would never be brought to obey the rule of an absent monarch; and he rather wished Mary to wed some French prince of the blood than the king himself. Probably envy at the fortunate house of Lorrain had more share than policy in this advice; yet, as his influence was considerable, his being made a prisoner by the Germans at the battle of St. Quintin facilitated the marriage; and the ardor of the young king, encouraged by the counsels of the Duke of Guise, having surmounted every obstacle, it was determined that the wedding should be celebrated without delay.

1558.
Scottish
commiss-
sioners at
Paris.

Nine commissioners[13] (mostly of the Protestant faith) with difficulty reached the coast of France

NOTES.

[13] The Archbishop of Glasgow; the Bishops of Ross and of Orkney; the Earls of Rothes and Cassilis; the Lords Fleming and Seaton; the Prior of St. Andrew's, and John Erskine of Dun.

[BUCHANAN, &c.]

France from Scotland, [14] with the conditions A.D. 1558.
 which the nation and parliament had agreed to
 demand.* Nothing was omitted in these which
 could secure the succession of the Scottish crown
 to the Hamilton family, in case of Mary's failure
 of issue, and prevent their country, on any event,
 from becoming a province to France.+ To none
 of these cautionary terms was the least objection
 raised by the ministers of the French court; every
 requisition was unconditionally granted, and, had
 more been asked, it had been the same. It might
 well be so; since, by the blackest perfidy ever ex- French
 hibited in a civilized nation, they had provided, as perfidy.
 they imagined, a remedy against every concession
 which they might make, by persuading the infant-
 queen privately to execute three deeds. By the
 first, in case of her having no children, she gave
 the realm of Scotland to her husband and his heirs;
 by the second, she thought fit to allow the Scots a
 power of redeeming themselves and their country
 by paying to France a vast sum of money; and,
 by the third, she protested against any agreement
 which she might sign at her marriage to please
 her

NOTES.

[14] The voyage was ill-omened; a violent storm separated the fleet, and two of the ships perished. From these it seems, by Buchanan's account, that two of the commissioners were the only persons saved.

[LIB. XVI.]

* Leslie, lib. x. p. 533.

+ Keith's Appendix, p. 13.

A.D. 1558. her subjects, as null and void. * It may be easily supposed, that this dishonorable act was kept as a profound secret. The king and the dauphin, conscious of the fallacy, ratified the demand of Scotland with the most solemn oaths ; and the marriage, introduced by the most gross perjury, was celebrated with unexampled splendor and festivity ; but scarcely were the marriage ceremonies performed, ere the crown and regalia of Scotland were demanded of the commissioners, that the dauphin might be crowned king of Scotland. The Scots denied their having the regalia or any power to bestow them ; and resisted with proper resentment the proposal of signing a promise to support such a demand when it came before the parliament. They then departed from Paris ; but if their voyage to France had been unfortunate, their return was much more fatal : Four of the commissioners died, with many of their attendants, before they took shipping ; and a fifth, Lord James Stuart, the queen's illegitimate brother, narrowly escaped with his life.

These events were naturally attributed by the Scots to the effect of poison ; nor did the loose morals of the Lorrain family, and their hatred of the commissioners, as inimical to the French interest and to the Roman Catholic cause, render the supposition at all improbable.

The

* Keith, p. 73. Corps Diplomat. tom. v. p. 21.

The court of France, not discouraged by the ill success of its attempt on the commissioners, still covetted the crown (styled Matrimonial) of Scotland. The regent was appointed to manage the affair; and she, with her usual address, persuaded the Scottish parliament to conform to the dauphin's wish. The house of Hamilton, with the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, in vain resisted the measure; and Arran, whose claim to the succession it obliquely attacked, entered a solemn protest against it.* But while these, the most powerful of the Roman Catholic party, opposed the wishes of the French, the Protestants, lulled to acquiescence by the regent's dissimulation, united with her and France in this and every other movement; and actually agreed that the two most popular and powerful men of their party, the Earl of Argyle, and the Lord James Stuart, Prior of St. Andrew's, should carry the crown to the husband of Mary. The Dauphin obtains the crown matrimonial of Scotland. The accession of Elizabeth to the throne of England, at this period, greatly influenced the religion and the policy of Europe. Her character for firmness, prudence, and enterprize, soon became the theme of every tongue. To her the Protestants of Scotland, a numerous and powerful body, had very soon occasion to apply for protection. Policy had hitherto restrained the regent from shewing that detestation of their religion natural

A. D. 1558. tural to her family. But, notwithstanding the extreme and cautious regularity of their conduct, they had lately been persecuted by the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, [15] and by the convocation ;* and now a new and greater storm menaced their safety. The regent, who for her own ends had shielded them from the wrath of the clergy, and had even allowed them a tacit permission to worship God in their own way, having gained the rank and power for which she had panted, forgot the steps by which she had climbed to such a height ; and listening to the violent counsels (or rather directions) of her brethren in France, + declared herself a foe to the reformed. Enraged at the public celebration of the Protestant worship at Perth, she ordered the ministers of that communion, throughout the realm, to repair to Stirling and take their trials. They obeyed the summons and advanced towards the place ; but accompanied by such numbers of friends, that the terrified regent intreated John Erskine, of Dun, one of their own flock, to meet them, and disperse the tremendous assemblage. The interest of

Mary of
Guise
treats the
Protes-
tants un-
kindly.

Erskine

NOTES.

[15] It was on the head of a decrepit priest, aged 82, named Walter Mills, that the ill-judged zeal of the prelate was vented : ‘ And the stake at which he expired,’ says a modern historian, ‘ proved to be the funeral pile of the Romish religion in Scotland.’

^a Keith, p. 81.

^b Melvill, p. 48.

Erskine prevailed, and the venerable pastors dismissed their supporters, and returned home ; but the regent, when delivered from her fears, forgot her word, and pronounced the preachers outlaws, for not appearing to be tried at the day she had appointed.

The stern virtue of Erskine could not endure Riots at a court so void of honor. He hasted to Perth, and, seconded by the celebrated John Knox, [16] he

NOTES.

[16] John Knox was born in Scotland, A. D. 1515, and was obliged to quit his country early in life for the liberal and controversial turn of his opinions. In England Edward VI. would have made him a bishop, but he refused the offered see with some indignation. When Cardinal Beaton was slain, Knox hasted to join the conspirators, admonish them, and encourage their resistance. When the castle was taken he fled for a while, but only to return with double vigor. At Perth he incited the people to the most violent outrages against crosses, images, and edifices. ‘ Pull down their nests,’ said the harsh reformer, ‘ and the rooks will fly away.’ Yet he restrained his followers from blood; nor, even by way of retaliation, did a single man of the Roman Catholic party lose his life for his religion, if we except the cardinal, who fell as much on account of his despotism as of his bigotry. To a fierce, unpolished race, like the inferior Scots, a stern, tasteless apostle like John Knox, was, perhaps, necessary. A book which he penned with great virulence against female sovereignty, had nearly embroiled him with Elizabeth; but being convinced that it was only aimed at Mary, she forgave and protected him. The title of the book was, ‘ The first Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regimen of Women.’

A.D. 1559. he excited the party to vengeance. The lower orders rushed to outrage and irresistible force. Not only the gaudy trappings of Popery were the victims of their zeal, but the solid habitations of the monks, and their magnificent places of worship * fell beneath their strokes, and lay in indiscriminate ruin,

The regent marches against the reformed.

Treaties repeatedly violated.

No sooner was this rising made known to the regent at Stirling, than she marched with the French auxiliaries, and some regular Scottish bands, to the number of nearly 3,000 men well disciplined, to avenge this insult on her religion. But the party of ‘The Congregation of the Lord,’ for so it began to be styled, was soon so much reinforced, particularly by the incredible exertions of the Lord Glencairn, as to exceed the forces of Mary of Guise in strength. An agreement ensued to the advantage of the Protestants; but Mary, as soon as their troops were dispersed, violated every article. As this breach of faith had been foreseen, the lords of ‘The Congregation’ (now joined by Argyle and the Prior of St. Andrew’s, both disgusted by the regent’s dishonorable conduct) had concerted matters so as to form an immediate army, which obliged the regent to retire, and even to quit her capital. Then began again the demolition of Popish magnificence in almost every Scottish city, town, and hamlet;

while

* Buchanan, lib. xvi.

while John Knox, now the most admired preacher in Edinburgh, triumphed in the storm his hardy eloquence had raised. A.D. 1559.

A quick reverse once more succeeded. The Protestant soldiers began to separate for want of pay; and the regent (who had expected this event) advancing with her regular bands, compelled the residue to a treaty, which as usual [17] she only kept as far as it suited her convenience. This repeated perfidy, and her visible design of ruling despotically by means of her French auxiliaries, had, however, given such disgust to her two most powerful friends, Chatelherault and Huntley, that they determined to quit her party unless she would dismiss these odious strangers.*

The death of the French Henry II. at this period, by giving great additional strength to the house of Lorrain, robbed it of its caution. Mary, ^{Death of the} _{French king.} the niece of the Cardinal of Lorrain, and of the Duke

NOTES.

[17] ‘The promises of princes,’ said the irritated French-woman, being thrown off her guard when reproached with this failure, ‘ought not to be so precisely remembered; nor the performance of them expected, unless when suitable to their conveniency.’ [BUCHANAN.]

Mr. Hume seems to doubt the authority of this tale of insolent perfidy. ‘If,’ says he, ‘the papists have sometimes maintained that “no faith was to be kept with heretics,” their adversaries seem also to have thought, that “no truth should be told of idolators.”’

* Knox, p. 154.

A.D. 1559. Duke of Guise, was now Queen of France. By direction of her uncles she had assumed the royal arms and title of England, and thus, with extreme want of policy, afforded her rival Elizabeth a fair pretext for interfering in Scottish affairs. The system of violence was consistently pursued in France; one thousand soldiers were dispatched to aid the regent of Scotland; Arran, the son of Chatelherault, with difficulty escaped from Paris, where his religion had marked him as a sacrifice;* and the Scottish regent was directed to seize and destroy Argyle, and the Lord James Stuart, by any means whatever,

The unsteady Duke of Chatelherault, urged by his irritated son, now joined the Lords of the Congregation, and became their nominal chief; but it was the Lord James who was really the head of the party. His spirit and address, joined to great personal bravery, and a remarkable regularity of conduct, rendered him exactly fit for that station. Sensible of this, the artful regent endeavoured to undermine his popularity, by spreading reports that his ambition aimed at the throne of Scotland. No accusations however, from so suspected a source, could gain credit among a discerning people.

Mary of Guise had now received additional auxiliaries from France; she had also retained several

* De Thou, lib. xxiv. p. 462.

ral bands of Scots in regular pay; and, depend- A.D. 1559.
ing on her disciplined strength, she had avowed- The re-
ly fortified the town and harbour of Leith, that gent for-
she might at any time receive aid from abroad. Leith.
On the other hand, almost the whole body of
Scottish nobility, (except the Lords Bothwell,
Seaton, and Borthwick who joined the garrison
of Leith, Morton who hesitated, and Erskine who
commanded in the castle of Edinburgh) were in
arms against her; and Maitland of Lethington,
the wisest and most politic of her counsellors, (al-
though the youngest) had abandoned her party.
The Lords of the Congregation, and their new
allies, the Hamiltons, Gordons, &c. demanded,
in terms not disrespectful, that she should send
back the French auxiliaries, destroy the fortifica-
tions of her new fortress, grant a toleration, and
reform her clergy; and on her refusal they so-
lemnly declared,* still protesting their loyalty to
Mary their Queen, that she had forfeited the re-
gency, and with their numerous, but disunited
and ill-disciplined, troops, surrounded her
French allies and herself in Leith.

They had here undertaken an enterprize far
beyond their strength; they had valor enough, but
they had neither battering cannon, ammunition,
nor money for their soldiers' pay, except a small
and irregular supply from England. Their men
grew mutinous; they failed in one attack, and
lost

* Mem. de Castelnau, p. 446.

A.D. 1559. lost their few field-pieces ; in another they were Routs the pushed back to the gates of Edinburgh ; and Protestant their spirits were totally subdued when they army.

found that the regent's friends had intercepted* a bag with a thousand pounds, which the governor of Berwick, privately authorized by his sovereign, had sent to their aid. They broke up the siege with unmilitary haste ; and, after having dispatched the adroit Maitland to implore the protection of Elizabeth, each Lord of the Congregation retreated to his own district, that he might recruit his force, and prolong a defensive war, until better times might arrive ; while John Knox and Willock, his fellow-labourer in polemics, by zealous preaching, prevented the spirit of resistance from sinking into indolence.+

Invades Fife.

The regent was not disposed to permit this cautious plan to take effect ; a farther reinforcement of veteran French troops had arrived at Leith ; from these, and from her original force, she detached a strong party, which had orders to enter by the way of Stirling the county of Fife, the richest of the Scottish provinces, and the most devoted to the Protestant cause. To ravage this, and to seize the town and port of St. Andrew's, would at once chastise her foes, and secure the best harbor and the most convenient station for introducing forces into the heart of Scotland.

The

* Buchanan, lib. xvi.

+ Knox, p. 180.

The Lord James Stuart saw that all was now at A.D. 1559; hazard ; and that, should this enterprize succeed, the broken dispirited friends of civil and religious liberty in the north, might probably never again unite. To prevent this evil, he determined, with about six hundred horse, to oppose the invaders ; and, aided by the Lord Ruthven, Kirkaldie of Grange, and a few more of his friends,* he exerted so much valor and skill, that, by harrassing the enemy's marches, and cutting off their provisions, he kept 2,000 veterans at bay during more than three weeks ; and thereby gave time for the representations of Maitland to operate on the discernment of the spirited, [18] but cautious, Elizabeth of England.

At length the gallant defenders of their country were forced to yield to the torrent ; and the French, rushing into Fife, laid waste the estates of their foes ; [19] and, like a flood of fire from a volcano,

NOTES.

[18] Scoré, an agent of France, had endeavored to persuade the English queen that Chatelherault was at the same time negotiating with her and with the court of France. The irritated duke, hearing this accusation, gave Scoré the lie, and offered either to fight him in person or to give him his choice among one hundred of his dependents for an antagonist, each of them equal in birth and descent to the calumniating Frenchman.

[BULEIGH'S PAPERS.]

[19] In particular the house and village of Grange, belonging to the celebrated William Kirkaldie, was razed to the foundation;

* Knox, p. 202.

Bravery
of the
Lord
James
Stuart.

A.D. 1560. a volcano, desolated a wide road to the sea coast. There, while spreading devastation, and pursuing their triumphant march to St. Andrew's, an advanced party, having mounted a steep rock,* exclaimed with exultation that 'their friends were come!' They had indeed descried a fleet of large vessels not far from the shore; and, knowing that the Marquis D'Elboeuf was on the point of sailing from France to reinforce them, they doubted so little of his approach, that they fired a joyful salute from their artillery, and sent boats to invite the new-comers to feast with them on shore. The return of their messengers undeceived them. The ships were English; they were commanded by an experienced officer named Winter, whose instructions, although cautiously worded, warranted him to relieve the Scots at any rate.

Convinced of their error, and dreading to be intercepted on their return, the baffled Frenchmen abandoned their enterprize; and, with great difficulty and considerable loss, passing again by Stirling, rejoined the garrison of Leith;† while Winter, taking advantage of some hostilities committed by the French, attacked their small fleet, boarded and took their armed vessels and

store-

NOTES.

foundation; but the gallant owner falling on the marauders, slew their leader, Captain L'Abast and fifty of his men on the spot.

[BUCHANAN.]

* Buchanan, lib. xvi. + Holingshed's Scotland, p. 371.

store-ships, and blocked up the harbour ; while A.D. 1560.
 its garrison received the melancholy tidings of a storm which had dispersed, and partly destroyed, the long-expected fleet and land-force which had been meant to relieve them.

An English army now appeared on the frontiers of Scotland, under the Lord Grey of Wilton. The commissioners of the Congregation repaired to Berwick, where the Duke of Norfolk met them ; and a treaty was concluded, in which, although the interests of Scottish religion and liberty were asserted, great respect was paid to the Queen of Scots and her consort.

The English then advanced into Scotland and laid siege to Leith, whence the unfortunate Mary of Guise hastily departed, and, entering Edinburgh, intreated and obtained leave of the Lord Erskine to take up her residence in the castle. That independent nobleman received her with great respect and equal caution. She languished six weeks and died philosophically, although broken-hearted, owning and lamenting the errors of her administration, and conversing familiarly on religious subjects with the most rigid of the reforming ministers. [20]*

The

NOTES.

[20] Mary of Guise might have been, perhaps, amiable, had she not been driven by her attachment to her own unprincipled

* Knox. p. 228.

A.D. 1560. The siege of Leith was now begun by the English and Scots conjointly, and afforded a striking example of the advantage which valor, supported by discipline and experience, may obtain over numbers gifted with mere personal courage. The garrison mocked their efforts; the soldiers within were familiar with sieges, and repulsed every attack; while the island troops, long unused to land-wars,[21] and commanded by brave but unexperienced officers, exposed themselves with improvident gallantry, assaulted impracticable breaches, and fell by hundreds. Eight thousand soldiers, on the part of the English and Scots, are said to have found their graves before the hastily-raised fortifications of Leith.

Peace
with
France.

The garrison, which had for some time subsisted on horse-flesh only, must however have yielded, had not a sudden treaty, concluded at Edinburgh between England and France (including

NOTES.

cipled family into perjury and cruelty. Yet what shall we say to her unfeminine expression, when the bleeding body of a lad shot by her soldiers as he stood in a balcony at Perth was brought before her? ‘ I cannot answer for accidents, but I wish it had been his father !’

[BUCHANAN.]

[21] The English seamen, impatient at the tardy siege, had nearly persuaded Winter, their admiral, to ask leave to attack the place with his men alone. He might have succeeded; for the garrison having, on account of his harsh character, a rooted dislike to the Lord Grey, wished to yield to Winter.

[ANON APUD GUTHRIE.]

ing Scotland) saved its honor. By this peace A.D. 1560.
the rights of Elizabeth to the English crown were acknowledged, and Francis and Mary engaged to lay aside for ever the royal title and arms of England. The effects of this treaty were instantaneous; Leith was peaceably evacuated, and not a Frenchman left in Scotland; while the troops of Elizabeth, withdrawing at the same time, and re-passing the borders, evinced to the world the integrity, and disinterestedness of her interference.

A parliament was now summoned, whose first care was to nominate twenty-four persons from whom the council of regency was to be chosen; then the terms of the late treaty were scrutinized, and the security for the church not being deemed sufficient, severe laws, too much savoring of that spirit of persecution which had rendered Popery odious, were promulgated against the old religion. A Presbyterian government was established in the church, but with the omission of a proper provision for the clergy; and ambassadors were dispatched to France for a confirmation of the acts which had passed. He was received with coolness, and failed of his errand; while the Lords Morton and Glencairn, with Maitland, who were sent to thank Elizabeth, and to humbly recommend the Lord Arran, presumptive heir to the crown, to her as a consort, met with no better success, although they were received with much more civility.*

The

* Keith, p. 154.

A.D. 1560. The death of the French monarch, the spouse
 Death of Francis II. of France. of Mary Stuart, which fell out at this conjuncture, totally changed the face of affairs, and gave a new turn to the politics of Europe.

1561. It was now the general wish of the Scots to see Mary is invited to Scotland. their queen among them ; and Lord James Stuart, her brother, was sent by the regency to announce the request of her people. He found his beautiful but ill-fated sovereign driven from court by the neglect and apparent coldness of Catharine di Medicis, the queen-mother, who not only hated her arrival, but dreaded the extreme attachment which her son Charles IX. professedly retained for his fair sister-in-law. This gloomy reverse of her late splendid state had made her think with some pleasure of visiting her native kingdom. Leslie, (afterwards Bishop of Ross) had endeavored to prejudice her against Lord James, and to persuade her to depend on the Roman Catholic interest alone ; but that counsel was judged to be too hazardous.* She received her brother with affection, and instantly prepared for her voyage, which was not altogether without hazard, as Elizabeth, disgusted at the Scottish queen for not totally abandoning the insignia of English royalty, had unkindly refused to grant her a safe conduct.†

She quits France with regret.

It was not without the most poignant sentiments of grief that Mary could quit a polished court and kingdom

* Leslie, p. 227.

† Keith, p. 171.

kingdom, where, during many years, she had A.D. 1561.
been treated with a respect little inferior to adoration. Brantome, who accompanied her in the same vessel, has left us a minute description of her anguish.

As she left the port of Calais a vessel struck on a rock, and perished in her sight. ‘ Alas !’ said the forlorn queen, ‘ what an unhappy augury for my voyage.’ When her galley had left the harbor with a fair wind she remained on deck, leaning on the gunwale several hours, and incessantly repeating, ‘ Adieu, France ! Adieu, France !’ When it grew dark, she lamented, in the most affecting terms, the impossibility of seeing any longer the coast she so truly loved. She would not quit the deck, insisted on having her bed brought up from the cabin, and an awning stretched over it, and directed the steersman to wake her as soon as it was light, if France were still in view. Chance favored her wishes ; her beloved shore appeared again in the morn. The queen raised herself from her bed, and as the land soon disappeared to her sight, she exclaimed, ‘ Adieu, beloved France ! It is all over ! Adieu, dear France ! Never shall I see thee more !’

Her voyage was not unprosperous ; she escaped the numerous squadrons of Elizabeth, and landed safely at Leith ; yet even there, although flattered by the acclamations of a people not accustomed to the presence of their sovereign, Mary met not with a reception calculated to make

Her re-
ception in
Scotland.

A. D. 1561. her forgot the polished pleasures of the French court.^[22] The Scots had not time, as she came suddenly, to soften the asperity of the views on her road. The stern John Knox preached against the ‘ Whore of Babylon, and the Antichrist of Rome,’ almost in her hearing ; her servants were insulted as they celebrated mass in her private chapel ; and the Lord James Stuart was forced to interpose,

NOTES.

[22] Mary could not easily reconcile herself to the simple manners of the Scots. She was by no means pleased at the little ponies (*hacquenées guilledines*) on which her new attendant lords and ladies rode ; but, bursting into tears, compared their ill-accoutered nags with the pompous and showy steeds of the French. Nor, when lodged in Edinburgh, was she consoled by the melody produced by a number of vagabonds (*cinq au six cens marauts*) who welcomed her by playing on ill-tuned fiddles and kits, and who sung under her window Scottish psalms, with voices utterly discordant to each other.

[BRANTOME.]

It is worth observing how very materially the account given by John Knox of this very serenade differs from that of the Frenchman.

‘ A cumpanie of most honest men, with instruments of musick and with musicians, gave their salutaciouns at hir chamber-window. The melodie, as sche alleged, likid her weill, and sche willed the same to be continued some nyghts after with grit diligence.’

Randolph, Elizabeth’s ambassador, wrote to Cecil at this time, speaking of the Scots, ‘ I think marvellously of the wisdom of God, that gave this unruly, inconstant, and cumbersome people no more power nor substance, for they would otherwise run wild.’

[KEITH.]

interpose, that his sister and sovereign might, in ^{A.D. 1561.} her own kingdom, have liberty of worshipping God in her own way.

The violent zeal for reformation which prevailed at this juncture seems, in the moderate times of the 18th century, totally improbable; it even interfered in the amusements of the day; and the very pageants contrived to amuse the queen when she made her public entry into her capital, exhibited various scenes of divine judgments falling on idolators.^[23] Perhaps a most

R 2

absurd

NOTES.

[23] A mock altar was erected in one place, like that used in the mass. On this were sacrificed Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. A Romish priest also was to have fallen; but the Lord Huntley prevented that exhibition. [ANON AP. GUTHRIE.

Add to this the extreme resentment which animated the nation on account of a trivial irregularity. Alison Craig, a celebrated woman of pleasure, was visited one evening by the Marquis D'Elboeuf, and a party of Scottish and French young noblemen, who had just quitted their bottle. They found no admittance; but not conceiving why she should bar her doors against her usual visitors, they forced their passage, broke the windows, and committed some disorders in endeavoring to find the capricious lady of the house. This was taken up with great solemnity by the Assembly of the church then sitting; and they presented an address on the subject to the queen, with this awful prelude. ‘ To the queen's majesty, &c. The professors of Christ Jesus's holy Evangel wish the spirit of righteous judgment.’ In the address they demand ‘ the severe punishment of those who had endeavored to kindle the wrath of God against the whole realm.’ The queen received the ad-

dresser

A.D. 1561. absurd and ill-timed demand, delivered in by the French ambassador nearly at this time, helped to irritate the people.* He required the Scots to renew their alliance with France, renounce their treaty with England, and restore the Roman Catholic religion. The answer was manly, simple, and rational. ‘The French had deserved no kindness at their hands ; they could not break with England, who had saved them from Popery and slavery ; and, as to the third article, they were not mad enough willingly to load them again with more chains, from which they had with difficulty extricated themselves.’

The lawless state of the borders demanding immediate attention, the Lord James Stuart was sent to restore good government ; the militia of eleven counties attended him ; he performed his duty with severity, executed numbers, and left all in tranquillity. During his absence from court, many artful and earnest attempts had been made by the Lord Huntley, and the Archbishop of St. Andrew’s, to induce Mary to favor the Roman Catholics ; while Arran, on the other hand, who was deeply in love with his fair cousin, passionately and absurdly publishing his wishes

NOTES.

dresser with politeness, but treated not the crime with that sacred horror which was its due ; nor was her impious apathy ever forgiven.

* KNOX, p. 269, 273.

wishes that she might be restrained in the exercise of her religion, deprived himself of every chance of obtaining her regard, and in consequence, after having alarmed her by a strange ill-concerted project of carrying her off by force to his own estate,* utterly lost his senses.

A convention which chiefly deliberated on religious matters, closed the year 1561. An allowance was there settled for the subsistence of the Protestant priests; it was very small, and even that was by no means regularly paid.

Deadly feuds, and aristocratic insurrections, the consequence of that anarchy which had long prevailed in Scotland, embittered the second year of Mary's residence in her kingdom.

The Earl of Arran, whose mind was declining apace into idiotism, accused himself and the Lord Bothwell of a design to assassinate their inveterate foe, the Lord James Stuart, Prior of St. Andrew's (who had just been honored with the Earldom of Mar) in his own house. In consequence the parties were confined, and the duke of Hamilton, father to the accuser, was obliged to yield the strong castle of Dunbarton to the power of the queen,[†] although it is probable that there were no grounds for the accusation except the heated imagination of Arran.

A more

* Holingshed's Scotland, p. 379.

† Keith, p. 202. Buchanan, lib. xvii.

A. D. 1562. A more dangerous attempt to subvert the present order of government was made by the potent family of Gordon. Sir John, the eldest son of the Earl of Huntley, had dangerously wounded Lord Ogilvie in a private quarrel ; he escaped from confinement, and was protected by his* father even against the queen, who at that juncture was on a progress into the north, where the estates of Huntley lay. A plan of the Gordons to destroy the ministers of Mary being discovered, the clan took up arms ; and, led on by the old earl, would have endangered the queen's safety, had not the gallant James Stuart, now Earl of Murray,[24] (the title of Mar being claimed by his uncle, Lord Erskine) by a steady exertion of personal bravery, at the head of a few spearmen, supported the attack of a numerous body of Highlanders armed with the broad sword, and put them to flight. The Earl of Huntley, old and corpulent,† was trod to death in his hasty retreat.[25]

James
Stuart
made Earl
of Mur-
ray.

Fall of
Lord
Huntley.

His

NOTES.

[24] On the day of his receiving of the patent, the earl married Agnes, the daughter of the Earl Marischal ; and, to the great scandal of John Knox and the strict ones, he accompanied his wedding with songs, dances, and a kind of masquerade. [HOLINGSHED, &c.]

[25] The mangled body was kept without burial, as the custom was in Scotland, until the parliament met, that it might be presented before that assembly, in order to the forfeiting of the estate, ‘ after that he was deid and departit frae this mortal lyfe.’ [KEITH.]

* Keith, p. 223.

+ Holingshed’s Scotland, p. 381.

His family fell into the hands of the royalists; A.D. 1562.
 Sir John was beheaded, but the other sons were spared. The possessions of the Gordons, (of which Murray[26] had made a part) were considerably lessened, and their power was no longer formidable.

Mary had long wished for an interview with Elizabeth, and measures had been taken for their meeting at York, during the summer of 1562; but there is reason to believe that Cecil, the favorite minister of the English queen, persuaded her that the meeting would have no good effect. It was accordingly evaded, avowedly because the state of French affairs required Elizabeth's constant attention and presence in London.*

Nothing farther occurred within the year, except repeated and fruitless remonstrances of the clergy concerning the failing payment of their small stipends.[27]

The

NOTES.

[26] There was an unhappy singularity in the fate of this earldom. It lay within the country which the house of Gordon claimed; and, being given to another family, it was perpetually plundered by the Highlanders allied to the Gordons. At a much later day than that we now write of, Sir Ewen Cameron, being charged with evil designs against the Grants, alleged, ‘that he meant not to molest them, but only to make an incursion into Murray land, where every man was free to take his prey.’

[PENNANT.]

[27] Chatelard, grandson to the celebrated Bayard, a man of literature, and an elegant poet, who had long adored the

* Keith, p. 216.

A. D. 1563. The chief potentates of Europe now sought to tempt the blooming Mary, who had been two years a widow, to a second marriage. The Archduke of Austria, the Duke of Anjou, and Carlos the son of the Spanish Philip, were offered to her acceptance; but, whatever might be her secret wishes, motives of policy urged her to take the advice of Elizabeth as to her choice.* That jealous sovereign openly disapproved of any foreign match, and, as the Scots were of the same opinion, the proposals on behalf of the distant princes were all rejected. Probably the project which Mary had now formed of wedding a young nobleman of her own family, rendered her more attentive to the advice of Elizabeth.

Account of Lord Darnley. Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, was the eldest son of Matthew, Earl of Lenox (who, exiled from his country, had long resided in England) by the Lady Margaret Douglas, the niece of Henry VIII. and the nearest rival to the Scottish queen in the English succession. Margaret was daughter to Margaret the widow of James IV. by the Earl of

NOTES.

the beautiful Mary in secret, permitted his love at this juncture so far to overpower his prudence as to tempt him to hide himself in the queen's bed-chamber. He was discovered and forgiven. The same insult again repeated proved fatal. He was delivered up to the law, tried, and executed.

[*VIE DE MARIE PAR BRANTOME.*

* Melvill, p. 88.

of Angus; a circumstance which brought her one ~~one~~^{one} degree nearer the throne of England than Mary, who was that queen's grand-daughter. Her being a native of England too was in her favor. [28] Nor can it be a matter of wonder, when the person of Lord Darnley (which was remarkably elegant^{*}) is considered, that a young princess should easily be brought to think that the marriage with such a competitor would be the best method of consolidating the rival claims. The plan, however, lay dormant some time longer.

In the mean while Murray, whose open mind and martial disposition had set him above the wretched and intolerant fanaticism of his reforming friends, had nearly lost all his interest with the Presbyterian party by refusing to join in hasty and ill-concerted measures to deny the queen the private exercise of her religion. The fierce John

Knox

NOTES.

[28] A lawyer named Hales wrote about this time a treatise in favor of the claims of the Suffolk branch (descended from Mary of France, daughter to Henry VII.) in preference to the line of Margaret. What Elizabeth thought of his argument is uncertain, for his having dared to call *her* conduct in question, concerning the Countess of Hertford, drew on his head the vengeance of her offended majesty on her own account, and he suffered a long confinement. [CARTE, &c.]

At a period not very far distant, one Thornton, a lawyer, was thrown into prison for arraigning the title of the Queen of Scots. [CAMDEN.]

* Melvill, p. 101.

A. D. 1563. **Knox** [29] solemnly renounced his friendship, and it was nearly two years before the strange events of the changeable times forced them through policy to a reconciliation. Disappointed of Murray's aid, the stern demagogue had recourse to the people, and succeeded in exciting them to insult the priests who officiated before the queen. Two of the most forward among the mob being seized, Knox dispersed circular letters to convene all good Protestants to their rescue. For this gross attack on the civil power the turbulent ecclesiastic was imprisoned, and tried before the privy council.* There he judiciously rested his defence on the numerous precedents which the late troubles had afforded, and pleaded his own cause so well, that he was acquitted; and Sinclair, Bishop of Ross, a zealous papist, approved of the acquittal.†

1564. It was early in 1564, that Elizabeth caused her favorite, the Lord Robert Dudley, to be proposed

as

NOTES.

[29] Mary sometimes condescended to reason with this holy savage. ‘Will ye allow,’ said she, ‘that the people shall take my sword from me?’ ‘It is God’s sword,’ replied he, ‘and if princes use it not rightly, the rulers under them ought to do it. Samuel spared not to slay Agag, the fat and delicate king of Amalek, whom Saul had spared.’ When this singular priest overheard persons wondering at his bold familiarity in conversing with the queen, he answered, ‘What! should the pleasant face of a lady affray me?’

[KNOX,

* Knox. p. 335, &c.

+ Ibid. p. 343.

as a husband to Mary of Scotland. * Strange as ^{A.D. 1564.} was this proposal, the rejection of it was clothed in the most respectful terms. [30] The fair queen of Scots listened, however, with more pleasure to a request made some time after by the English queen, ‘that she would reverse the sentence of forfeiture on the Lenox estates.’ Mary, happy at having a pretext to oblige the family of one whom she had thought of marrying, soon complied with this intimation. She did more; she interposed to prevent the house of Hamilton from taking violent steps against their old enemies, the Stuarts of Lenox; and she pacified the potent family of Douglas, who also abhorred that house, by persuading the old Earl of Lenox to abandon his pretensions in right of his wife to the earldom of Angus.

Towards

NOTES.

[30] It was about this time that Mary sent to Elizabeth a diamond ring in the form of a heart. The great Buchanan honored this gift with an elegant but short Latin poem. It may be thus translated:

‘ This gem behold, the emblem of my heart,
From which my cousin’s image ne’er shall part.
Clear in its lustre, spotless does it shine;
As clear, as spotless, is this heart of mine.
What tho’ the stone a greater hardness wears,
Superior firmness still the figure bears.’

James I. gave this ring to Sir Thomas Warner, whose descendant still possesses it.

[LE CLERE’S LIFE OF BUCHANAN, APUD ‘ ANECDOTES OF DISTINGUISHED PERSONS’, &c.

* Melvill, p. 90. Keith, p. 251.

A. D. 1564. Towards the end of 1564, a dispute between Maitland of Lethington and John Knox, on the right of the people to resist a tyrannical sovereign, was carried on before the General Assembly with great art and eloquence. Knox, it may be easily supposed took the popular side.*

1565. Early in the succeeding year Lord Darnley, having obtained a tacit leave from Elizabeth to visit Scotland, appeared at the court of Mary, and made a swift conquest of her susceptible heart. He had, indeed, an advocate who was always near the queen, and had the possession of her private ear. This was David Riccio or Rizzio, an Italian musician, supposed an emissary from the Pope, + who at times officiated as secretary for the French tongue, and whose intimacy with Mary was so very close, that it was only his homely figure, and [31] (as some say) advanced age, which prevented the tongue of calumny from exerting itself on the subject.

Account
of David
Rizzio.

The

NOTES.

[31] Nothing, says Buchanan, could make him look like a gentleman, although he tried to embellish his odious figure by fine garments.

‘ Rei indignior videbatur, quod non faciem cultus honestabat,
sed facies cultum destruebat.’

[LIB. XVII.]

Buchanan adds, he was young; but Blackwood, who also knew the man, says that he was elderly, and had a morose forbidding countenance.

* Knox, p. 349. + Melvill, p. 112, 114.

The crooked and mysterious policy of Elizabeth on occasion of this marriage has been already described. Historians are at a loss to conceive why she should with such apparent earnestness oppose a marriage which, at the same time that it prevented Mary from any foreign alliance, enabled the English queen to enlarge her influence in the Scottish court, by allowing or withholding at pleasure the large income of the Lenox estates lying within the domains of England. Indeed there is great reason to believe that her whole opposition was a political fallacy. Yet she carried it so far as to confine the Lady Lenox, mother to Darnley, and to excite the Protestant lords to take up arms against the proposed alliance. The apparent motive was the warm attachment of the Lenox family to the Roman faith. The activity of Murray on this occasion reconciled him to the severe Knox, who had before thought him a false brother. Murray had, indeed, some pretext for his displeasure; his favor was waning at court; his sister had visibly slighted him, and cherished his bitterest foe, Bothwell, (who had more than once attempted to murther him) and by her coolness had driven him from those councils which he had been used to guide.

As a politician this great and popular leader was mistaken in his measures. The gentle government of Mary had so far reconciled all parties to her sway, that few could be persuaded to rise against

~~A.D. 1565.~~ against her. Nor did Murray accurately calculate for the exertions of a woman in love. Inspired by her passion for Darnley, (who was barely twenty years of age) she first raised him nearly to an equality with herself, by giving him the royal honors of Ross and Albany; then she married him, having the evening before the wedding proclaimed him King of Scots; * and then, having allowed only three days to nuptial [32] festivity,
she

NOTES.

[32] Randolph, the English resident, writes, some curious particulars of the marriage to Lord Leicester. ‘ She had on her back the great mourning gown of black, with the great wide mourning hood, &c. The rings, which were three, the middle a rich diamond, were put on her finger. They kneel together, and many prayers were said over them; she tarrieth out the mass, and he taketh a kiss and leaveth her there, and went to her chamber, whither, within a space, she followeth and being required (according to the solemnity) to cast off her cares, and leave aside these sorrowful garments, and give herself to a more pleasant life, after some pretty refusal (more, I believe, for manersake than grief of heart) she suffereth them that stood by, every man that could approach, to take out a pin; and so, being committed to her ladies, changed her garments, but went not to bed; to signifie to the world, that it was not lust that moved them to marry, but only the necessity of her country, not, if God will, to leave it long without an heir. Suspicious men, &c. would that it should be believed that they knew each other before that they came there; but I would not that your lordship should so believe it.’ And then the

good

* Guthrie, vol. vi. p. 284.

she mounted her horse, and leading her army (in A.D. 1565, which she had 700 regular troops kept in constant pay) in person, armed with loaded pistols,* she ceased not from the pursuit of the revolted lords [33] until they had taken shelter at Berwick under protection of the Earl of Bedford, who received them with hospitality; and where Elizabeth, notwithstanding the unpardonable duplicity of her conduct, which made her disavow the measures that she had urged, supported them until an opportunity should arrive to reinstate them in their former possessions.

On this expedition, and on her nuptial gaieties, Mary had expended large sums; these she raised by borrowing 50,000l. on her own credit, and by moderate fines on the towns and districts which had taken part against her.

At this period the Roman Catholic party, although not openly espoused by the queen, increased in power and number. The title and estates

NOTES.

good Randolph, fired by the spirit of chivalry, declares in very plain terms, that he would not credit his own eyes against the virtue of the fair Queen of Scotland.

[RANDOLPH'S LETTERS.]

[33] The most known of these were Chatelherault, (who obtained a pardon, though with exile) Argyle, Glencairn, Rothes, Boyd, and Ochiltree; with the lairds of Grange, Cunningham-head, Balcomie, and many others. [KNOX.]

* App. to Keith, p. 161.

A.D. 1565. estates of Huntley were restored to Lord Gordon ; the Earl of Athol was called to a high post ; the mass was publicly celebrated ; and Monks were permitted to preach in public. *

Vicious
folly of
the new
king.

When Mary had returned from her expedition to the south, she returned not to domestic enjoyment. Her chosen lord proved to be the vainest and weakest of men. Honored as he had been by the fairest of sovereigns, he thought that what she had done for him was less than his due, and incessantly persecuted her to give him the matrimonial crown. This request the queen hesitated to grant, and with reason. The manners of the youth (now King Henry) were become gross and odious. He was perpetually intoxicated, and in company with the lowest and worst of women. Young and beautiful as she was, the health of Mary was injured by his brutality ; nor could her laudably artful management conceal his vile propensities ; since even at table, in public, he was wont to use expressions of boundless and vulgar profligacy. Just as this refusal was, Henry was inordinately enraged [34] at it, and laid the whole blame

NOTES.

[34] The temper of the young King of Scots was childishly irregular. He had nearly stabbed the Lord Ruthven for bringing him news that his creation, as Duke of Albany, was delayed for a few days. David Rizzio was at first his greatest intimate

* Knox, p. 389, 300.

blame on Rizzio, of whose intimacy with the queen he on a sudden grew suspicious.

The meeting of parliament drew near, and the sentences and forfeitures of the fugitive lords were on the point of being confirmed. The humanity or policy of Mary had, indeed, tempted her to listen* to the earnest request of Elizabeth, and the prayers[35] of many noblemen, in favor of

Murray

NOTES.

intimate and confidant; but it appears that the capricious king had soon forgot his services, by the following remonstrance which he addressed to the queen :

‘ Since yon fellow Davie sell ~~in~~ credit and familiaritie with your majestie, ye regarded me not, &c. for every day, before and after dinner, ye would come to my chamber and pass time with me; and this long time ye have not done so. And when I come to your majestie’s chamber ye bear me little company, except Davie had been the third marrow. And after supper your majestie hath a use to set at the cards with the said Davie till one or two of the clock after midnight. And this is the entertainment I have had of you this long time.’

[COMPLAINT OF THE KING IN
RUTHVEN’S NARRATIVE.]

[35] Guthrie quotes an excellent letter from Throgmorton, a minister of Elizabeth, but a real friend to Mary, which ought to have weighed with the ill-advised princess. He tells her the consequence of union at home; warns her against trusting to foreign connections; and tells her that she will only be respectable in proportion as she should unite the interest of *all* her subjects with her own. Above all, he very rationally advises her to prevent her subjects from receiving pensions from foreign princes, and rather to pay their debts for them than permit them to owe such favors to strangers.

* Melvill, p. 127.

A. D. 1566. Murray and his fellow-exiles ; but a message from ^{Mary}
^{listens to French counsel.} her surviving uncles, (Guise had been slain at Orleans) and the counsels of Rizzio, steeled her heart against any measure of forgiveness. The ambassadors told her, that the fate of religion was in her hands ; and that if she re-admitted the Protestant lords, no hopes would remain of establishing the Roman Catholic religion in her dominions. They also earnestly requested and obtained her approbation of the Holy League, formed under the patronage of Pope Pius IV. for the extirpation of Protestantism, under the title of Heresy.

The friends of the exiles had no hope left unless in some resolute counsel. Convinced of this, they determined to seize and destroy Rizzio. They would have had him tried before the Parliament ; but the capricious and brutal king, who had entered eagerly into all their schemes, insisted that the wretched musician should be slain in the presence of Mary. Accordingly the plan for the murther was laid as he wished it, and nothing could exceed the horror of the style in which it was performed. Mary, (then twenty-three years of age) in the sixth month of her pregnancy, was sitting at supper (as was her imprudent custom) with David Rizzio and the Countess of Argyle,* when Henry entered the room, followed by Lord Ruthven, with a countenance rendered pale and ghastly

* Melvill, p. 130.

ghastly by disease, and with a frame so weak, that ^{A.D. 1566.} the weight of his armor would have borne him to the ground, had he not been supported by two men. Morton, the lord high chancellor, and other armed followers crowded in. Ruthven,[36] drawing his dagger, with a hollow voice bid Rizzio "retire from a place of which he was not worthy." But the hapless wretch, clinging to Mary ^{Rizzio} for protection, was wounded, forced from his sanc- ^{slain.} tuary, and slain with fifty-six strokes, in spite of the queen's tears, intreaties, and menaces.

A scene of confusion followed this atrocious act. Murray, with the exiled lords, Argyle, Glencairn, Rothes, &c. had advice of what had been done, and, suddenly appearing, threw themselves at the queen's feet; while she, looking on ^{Murray} their faults as trivial when compared to those of ^{and the} banished the murtherers of Rizzio, received Murray with ^{lords re-} affection, only conjuring him not to protect the ^{turn to} court. ^{wretches who had insulted her in a way so unmanly.}

Mary indeed exerted both art and spirit on this occasion; by the former she seduced the weak Henry from his confederates, and, as soon as she

s 2

had

NOTES.

[36] It seems strange that Ruthven should be chosen as the executioner of Rizzio, when so wan in his countenance that he seemed (says one author) 'a moving death,' and so ill that he was forced to call for a cordial in the queen's presence.

A.D. 1566. had gained that point, she drove the rest of the party who committed the outrage to seek shelter in the English borders. The exiles were now well received at court, and those, whose cruel and daring enterprize had reinstated them, were themselves compelled to fly.

Bothwell in favor. It was about this time that James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, first appeared on the stage as a favorite of the fair Queen of Scots. He had, without doubt, in some degree, merited that favor by steady fidelity; for on no occasion whatever had this nobleman ever taken part against* her. In recompence she had made him Warden of the Marches, and, on his having been wounded in a private contest on the borders, she had ridden through an almost impassable country to visit him. His character was ambitious and daring to an extreme; and it is a tradition in Scotland, that the first impression which he made on the susceptible heart of his queen might be dated from his riding furiously down the steep hill of Calton, near Edinburgh, in her sight. This man had been long an enemy to the Douglas family, and to all of Murray's party; but probably seeing in Morton, Ruthven, &c. characters not unlike his own, he aspired to their friendship, and by making use of his interest† with Mary (whose disposition was far from implacable) obtained permission for the return

* Knox, p. 396.

+ Melvill, p. 152.

turn of those who had so cruelly outraged her ^{A.D. 1566.} feelings, and endangered her life.

Mary, unhurt by the horrid scene to which she had been a witness, was now far advanced in her pregnancy, and took up her abode in Edinburgh Castle; for such was the aristocratic power in Scotland, and so feeble was the government, that the privy-council thought her palace not a safe habitation at so critical a season.

She was delivered on the 19th of June of a ^{James VI.} prince, afterwards James I. of England, and VI. of ^{born.} Scotland, who proved the happy bond of union between two nations which nature had always meant to be friends and fellow-subjects, but into whose bosoms foreign policy had too often successfully instilled the bitterest enmity.

Mean while the worthless and unfortunate king ^{King Henry neglected.} sometimes unheeded followed the court, and sometimes wandered solitarily from place to place. His inexcusable conduct had totally alienated the affection of his once doting wife. She had withdrawn her countenance from him, and the courtiers, alert at discerning a disgraced favorite, had even ventured to intimate to Mary that she might with ease obtain a divorce.* She would perhaps have embraced this expedient, had she not dreaded lest such a measure might leave a stain on the legitimacy of her child, and perhaps prejudice him as

to

* Anderson, vol. iv.

A.D. 1566. to the English succession. The manners of Henry rendered him every day more odious, and he now openly spoke of his design to quit Scotland, and relate his family complaints to every court in Europe; nor could his father the Earl of Lenox, nor the queen, succeed in dissuading him from this wild project.

The ceremony of the young Prince's baptism [37] was now performed with splendor [38] at the castle

NOTES.

[37] The devices at the entertainment which accompanied the baptism were regulated by a Frenchman named Bastien, and seem to have been singularly uncouth. Satyrs with tails, and whips in their hands, personated by the French ambassador's retinue, ran in skipping before the 'meate,' and musicians dressed like 'maydes' followed after. Somewhat which occurred in this barbarous medley disgusted the English; and Hatton, one of Lord Bedford's suite (afterwards high in the favor of Elizabeth) said, 'that if it were not in the queen's presence, he would put a dagger to the heart of that knave Bastien, who' (he alleged) 'had done it out of spight that the queen made more of them than of the Frenchmen.' Melvill sensibly remarks, that the English were fools for taking the affront to themselves, and Lord Bedford discreet for ending the affair without noise.

[MEMOIRS, &c.]

[38] Soon after the christening, a singular accident chanced to Mary. She had ridden to the borders, and while Sir John Forster, the warden, was talking to the queen, his horse rearing to bite hers by the neck, struck her Majesty's thigh with his hoof. Forster jumped off his horse and fell on his knees, but the good-natured and truly well-bred Mary smiled, and told him 'no harm was done.' Yet she was two whole days confined to her room in consequence of the hurt. [MELVILL,

castle of Stirling. Bedford, who attended with a sumptuous present from Elizabeth, brought likewise a conciliatory proposal as to the rights of the Stuart family, which the English queen offered to allow, provided Mary would promise not to disturb her or her heirs; [39] while the ill judging Henry, not invited to the ceremony, shewed himself in Stirling as if proud of the neglect he had suffered.

A most unpopular measure* dictated to Mary by Roman Catholics favored. the ambitious Bothwell, closed the transactions of 1566. She restored to the Archbishop of St. Andrew's that jurisdiction in the spiritual court, which had by act of Parliament been taken from him and lodged in the hands of commissioners. The reformed clergy, bitterly offended at this breach of faith (for the queen had confirmed the statute) addressed a warm remonstrance to[†] the whole body of the Protestant nobility. They were the more alarmed, as the queen had consented

NOTES.

[39] Mary frowned on this plan, which, had she approved it, might perhaps have given a more favorable turn to her fortunes. She was persuaded that the will of Henry VIII. which disinherited her branch of the Tudor family, was not genuine. Dr. Robertson thinks otherwise, and that Elizabeth served the interest of the Stuarts by not bringing that will forward. She never meant any prejudice to the Stuarts' claim. She only wished, for her own interest, to make their success dependent on her good will.

[HIST. OF SCOTLAND.]

* Knox, p. 403.

+ Keith, p. 567.

A. D. 1566. sented to admit a nuncio from the Pope, and had accepted a present of 20,000 crowns from the treasury of Rome. The archbishop, finding the universal dislike to his new powers, had so much moderation and sense as not to exert them for the present.

1567. Towards the beginning of the next year, Henry, who had retired to his father's house, from a chimerical dread of imprisonment, fell sick at Glasgow ; poisoned, as some supposed, by Bothwell, or worn out by his own noxious irregularities. [40] Yet, although he was believed to be in danger, the queen was so much estranged from him as not to visit him during the first month of his sickness. At length, when she found him recovering, though slowly, and still determined to expose himself and her by travelling, she repaired to his abode, treated him with uncommon tenderness, and persuaded him to accompany her to Edinburgh. He was there lodged in a house situated in an open field remarkable for its salubrious air, but at the same time uncommonly well adapted for any illegal or murtherous purpose. There the affectionate wife watched over her convalescent, sat by him during the day, and frequently spent

NOTES.

[40] Bishop Leslie imputes the illness of Henry to poison administered by his servant, but Archbishop Spotiswood attributes it to a disgraceful malady.

spent the night in his chamber ; her attention ^{A.D. 1567.} was such, that an entire reconciliation with her husband was generally believed to have taken place.

On Sunday February 9, 1567, Mary, and those noblemen who usually accompanied her steps, left the ill-fated Henry, to be present at a masqued-ball ; and at two in the succeeding morn the city was alarmed by a loud explosion of gunpowder. The house in which the king resided ^{Assassination of} had been blown up ; and, after a slight search, ^{Henry.} his body, and that of a domestic who lay near him, were found in an adjacent garden, without any marks of violence upon them, but apparently slain by suffocation or strangling.

Thus fell, in the twenty-first year of his age, ^{His character.} Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley. His person [41] and accomplishments had gained him the heart of the most lovely princess in Europe ; and, had he possessed either sensibility, gratitude, or common sense, his path might have been strewed with flowers ; but, like a viper, he stung the fair bosom which had cherished him. Most unhappily he suffered not alone ; his vices and follies drew down destruction, not only on his own deserving head, but on his injured benefactress. Had he died

NOTES.

[41] ‘ He was,’ say Melvill, ‘ handsome, beardless, and lady-faced.’

A.D. 1567. died in peace at Glasgow none would have regretted him, nor enquired into the circumstances of his decease; but the alarming manner of his departure at his capital, kindled a flame which destroyed all order and government, and which at length consumed one of the fairest and most amiable, though not the most faultless, of beings.

Bothwell suspected. The cry of the nation was now raised against Bothwell as the murtherer of his king; loud voices during the night proclaimed his guilt; papers to the same effect were seen at the corner of every street; and portraits of the supposed assassin were every where set out to view. The queen, who had retired to a mournful solitude at Seaton, six miles from Edinburgh, in vain offered a large reward for the discovery of the murther. She herself was by many implicated in the accusation; and it was observed with disgust, that although, on the earnest application and complaint of the old Earl of Lenox, Bothwell was bid to prepare for trial, yet he was not only permitted to remain at liberty, but was continued by the ill-judging queen in the supreme direction of all business. That dangerous lord had indeed almost all the force of the kingdom already in his hand; from the great offices [42] which he held; and Mary,

at

NOTES.

[42] Bothwell was Great Admiral of Scotland, Lieutenant of the Marches, Governor of Dunbar, &c. &c.

at this critical time, most imprudently added to his ^{A.D. 1567.} other commands that of the castle of Edinburgh, which she had persuaded the Earl of Mar (late Lord Erskine) to yield to her, in lieu of the royal infant James, whom she committed to the charge of that steady and patriotic nobleman.

The trial of Bothwell now came on apace, for, at a meeting of the privy-council, (in which he himself actually * sat) on the 28th of March, it was fixed for the 12th of April. In vain did Lenox complain of this haste, which allowed him no time to look out for evidence ; he was answered by being shewn a letter of his own, demanding ‘speedy justice.’ The wretched old lord, conscious as he was with the rest of the nation who it was that had slain his son, yet had no witness [43] to produce. He was also terrified at the vast number of friends and followers (or approvers, as they

NOTES.

[43] It was not until the execution of Morton, in 1581, that any strong light was thrown on this mystery. That resolute but wicked peer left behind him in a paper, (which appears to have been perused by Archbishop Spotswood) that Bothwell pressed him to commit the murther, but that he refused it, although assured by the tempter that the queen earnestly wished the deed. When asked why he did not instantly divulge the atrocious offer, ‘ To whom,’ said he, with an appearance of candor, ‘ should I have told it ? The queen was, as Bothwell averred, a party in the cause ; and

as

* Anderson, vol. i. p. 50, 52.

A.D. 1567. they were styled) that were ready to accompany and support the potent culprit. He stopped on his journey to Edinburgh, sent a domestic to appear for him at the trial, and to protest against the proceedings, and took refuge* at the court of Elizabeth ; who he knew had sent in vain to advise Mary for her honor's sake to defer the trial, + and who had just then set the Lady Lenox free from her confinement in the Tower.

The court was opened on the appointed day ;
Tried and
acquitted. Bothwell was arraigned at the bar ; but as no one appeared against him he was of course acquitted. It is even believed, that, whatever witness had appeared, he must have been cleared, as the indictment was laid, probably on purpose, for the *ninth*, not the *tenth*, day of the month ; at which latter date the affair really happened.

Numerous intimations now gave the triumphant Bothwell to know, that by this irregular acquittal his cause had gained no ground in the public opinion, and he found that some farther steps were necessary to brighten his tarnished honor. His first attempt was made by a challenge to any gentleman of good fame who would still accuse him

of

NOTES.

as for the king, he was so weak and childish, that he would have betrayed my confidence without securing himself.'

[APPENDIX TO CRAWFURD'S MEM. &c. APPENDIX GUTHRIE.

* Keith, p. 378, note d. + Holingshed's Eng. p. 1209, 60.

of the king's assassination. Afterwards he endeavored, by a bold measure, to connect the interest of the Protestant cause with his own, and actually swayed the accessible mind of Mary (even at a time when she was more than ever engaged to restore and support the Roman Catholic faith) to pass an act * in favor of the reformation, so clear and comprehensive, that its greatest friends could find nothing to add to it, but contented themselves, when in power, with ratifying every clause.

There remained now but one step for Bothwell to take that he might reach the highest station in his country. To attain this he drew together most of the prelates and noblemen of Scotland at an entertainment; and when their hearts were exhilarated with his hospitality, produced a bond, whereby the subscribers, after fully acquitting him of King Henry's murther, and promising to support him against all accusers, joined together in recommending him to the queen as a husband. † To this scandalous paper the whole assembly, although persons of opposite sentiments in religion and politics, united in signing their names; probably with the more alacrity, from consciousness that they were surrounded with armed men, posted by order of the artful and ambitious planner of this disgraceful measure. Murray

was

* Parl. i. Jacobi VI. cap. 31.

† Anderson, vol. i. p. 94.

A.D. 1567. was in France, but his name was added to the bond by a person present.

Armed with this important scroll, Bothwell waited not long inactive ; but hearing that Mary had quitted her retreat at Seaton, and meant to visit her son at Stirling, he rode to meet her on her return, accompanied by a thousand of his dependents on horseback, surrounded her, and having dispersed her attendants, led his fair prey ('nothing loth,'

Mary
carried off
by Both-
well.

as Melvill,* who was of the party, intimates) to his castle at Dunbar, where he detained her some days as a prisoner, and, profiting by the advantages of his situation, ungenerously permitted the respect due to his sovereign to give way to the warmth of his sensations as her admirer. At the same time he shook off his former wife, the Lady Jane Gordon, sister to his best friend the Earl of Huntley, by a double suit of divorce. The first before the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, because too nearly allied in blood; the second brought by the lady herself, accusing her husband of adultery with a maid-servant. Both these suits succeeded, and Bothwell, being amply divorced, had leave to marry again. All this was done almost in an instant, and the queen conveyed by the triumphant ravisher to Edinburgh castle, where they were married by Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney; † but not before Bothwell had been made Duke of

Orkney,

* Melvill, p. 155, 156.

† Ibid. p. 157.

Orkney, and the Queen had exhibited a formal declaration before the session, that ‘ although the violent conduct of Bothwell had at first given her displeasure, she had now forgiven him in consequence of his respectful behavior, and from the memory of his former services; and that moreover she meant to raise him to higher honors.’

No marriage was ever contracted under more unpromising auspices; scarcely any nobleman appeared to grace it with his presence; Du Croc, the ambassador of France, would not attend, and Craig, a private minister of Edinburgh, had refused to publish the banns, and had defended his conduct before the privy-council, by alleging the violence of Bothwell, and the improper and precipitate dissolution of his former marriage. The courts of England and of France expressed equal disgust at this ill-sorted [44] union; and the honor

NOTES.

[44] The character of Bothwell, odious in every light, must strike an observer with wonder, as having been able to attract the affection of the delicate Mary. His language when he carried off the queen (as reported by an ear-witness) was vulgar and disgusting; and the same person, Sir James Melvill, adds, ‘ Then he fell in discoursing with the gentlewomen, speaking such filthy language that they and I left him and went to the queen,’ &c. He adds, ‘ He (Bothwell) was so beastly and suspicious, that he suffered her not to pass one day in patience, without making her shed abundance of tears.’ And again, ‘ In presence of Sir Arthur

Areskine,

A.D. 1587. honor in which the name of a Scot had been held throughout Europe, now gave way to sentiments of disregard and aversion. Pasquinades abounded at home, and the sullen * and discontented air of the people pointed out the suspicions with which their minds were agitated. [45]

The

NOTES.

Areskine, I heard her ask for a knife to stab herself. “Or else,” said she, “I shall drown myself.” These last quotations prove that the ill-fated queen felt the disgrace and horror of her connection. If, indeed, we could believe those letters which appear as hers in Anderson’s collection to be genuine, Bothwell might appear no unworthy mate for such a correspondent. But who that has ever read the elegant stanzas written by Mary on the death of Francis II. will believe that the same pen could produce the gross lines here alluded to.

[45] Volumes have been written in the 18th century for and against the imputed crime of Mary. To give judgment on a disputed point like this is totally foreign to the plan of this history. Tindal, the commentator on Rapin, has made an observation which seems well-founded, and may serve to direct those who study Scottish history to judge for themselves. ‘Camden,’ says he, ‘has spoke scarcely a word of truth; Buchanan the whole truth, and more than the truth; and Melvill has said the truth, but not the whole truth.’

The historian feels himself happy that he is permitted to decline the painful task of searching into and exposing the errors of a lovely but frail being, whose long and patient sufferings ought in our eyes to atone for her faults; or, on the other hand, of employing ingenious, but not wholly justifiable, sophistry, in excusing palpable misdemeanors by ar-

guments

* Melvill, p. 159, 160.

The late transactions in the higher circles of Scotland had passed with such rapidity, and were so unexpected, that the heads of the nation stood some time as petrified with astonishment; nor were they roused from this stupefaction until they were alarmed by an attempt of the Duke of Orkney (for Mary had not conferred royalty on her third consort) to carry off the young prince from the custody of the Earl of Mar.* Frighted at this enterprise, a large number of the Protestant noblemen met at Stirling, and formed an association to defend the heir of the crown against any person whatever. To them Stuart, Earl of Athol, united himself, although a zealous Roman Catholic, and attached affectionately to the interest of the queen. It was easy for men of rank and popularity to raise an army, especially as nothing could be more plausible than their cause, and they omitted not to set this forth to the people by proper publications.

The Scottish lords
associate.

Meanwhile the wretched Bothwell (whose courage was that of a bravo, frantic when not opposed, but withering to nothing at the appearance of a foe) fled

NOTES.

guments which, when two centuries have passed, may be at any time produced by men of reading to contradict almost any event in history.

* Melvill, p. 157.

A.D. 1567. fled from Edinburgh, where he ought to have been prepared for resistance, and where Balfour his dependent was master of the castle. He* led with him the queen of Scots, in the indecent dress of a man, as the partner of his precipitate and shameful retreat. Arrived at Dunbar, he mustered his adherents, and posted them at Carberrie-hill, on nearly the same ground which the English occupied at the battle of Musselburgh. The troops of the associated lords advanced with caution ; the armies were nearly equal in numbers, but spirit and discipline had ranged themselves with the malcontents. In vain did Du Croc, the French ambassador, endeavor to effect a reconciliation ; the lords smiled at the offer of a pardon, and demanded the head of Bothwell. At length, as the armies drew nearer to each other, such strong symptoms of fear and discontent appeared among the followers of Bothwell, that Mary saw too plainly how little she might expect from their disheartened efforts. Her tears and reproaches were fruitless ; nor had the vaunting challenge of Bothwell to the best knight among his enemies, a better effect. Kirkaldie of Grange, Murray of Tullibardin, and the Lord Lindsay accepted the defiance. To the two first he excepted, as being his inferiors. To the third no objection could lie ; but either the queen's commands, or want of spirit in her champion, prevented the combat.[†]

The
queen
meets
them at
Carberrie
hill in
arms.

Kirkaldie,

* Keith, p. 398.

+ Melvill, p. 161.

Kirkaldie, observing the irresolution of Mary's adherents, stepped forwards, and offered to the terrified queen, in the name of his party, honorable terms, would she but separate her interests from those of her unworthy consort. Bothwell, during the parley, had galloped from the field with a few flies. followers; [46] his departure smoothed every difficulty, and Mary, embracing the offers of Kirkaldie, rode over to the army of the confederates, permitting her own soldiers to retire where they pleased. Mary yields to the confederates.

The unfortunate queen, although respectfully treated by the leaders, was cruelly insulted by the lower ranks of the army. Her ears were pained by the most taunting sarcasms, and wherever she turned her eyes they met a standard displaying the murther of her husband Henry.* This ghastly memorial[47] was even carried before her in slow procession

NOTES.

[46] This wretched fugitive became a pirate for subsistence; but having been pursued by Kirkaldie, and driven from the Scottish coast, he attempted the same vocation on the shores of Norway; there he was taken and imprisoned. The discovery of his rank saved his life, but ten years confinement deprived him of his senses, and he died frantic in a dungeon.

[MELVILL, &c.]

[47] In this vindictive banner the corpse of Henry lay stretched on the ground, while the infant prince, kneeling before it, uttered, 'Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord!'

[MELVILL.]

* Melvill, p. 162.

A.D. 1567. procession to the house of the provost of Edinburgh, where she lodged. Her stay was short, for she was almost immediately sent in confinement to a castle situated on Loch Levin, and placed under the care of the mother of Murray, who had been the concubine of James V. and who boasted of a marriage with that prince, prior to that which he contracted with Mary of Guise.

The high spirit of Kirkaldie could not brook the breach of articles which his own word had sanctioned; but his reproaches were silenced by the sight of an intercepted letter from the queen to Bothwell, in which she promised ‘never to abandon him, however long their separation might endure.’* He perused the scroll with anguish, and wrote to the infatuated Mary a letter of advice dictated by an honest heart; and conceived in the language of a soldier, not a courtier. The associated lords now styled ‘of the Secret Council,’ having in their hands the supreme authority, proceeded to search for the murtherers of the late king. But, although they tried and executed Captain Blackadder and a few more, no important or satisfactory discovery was made. It was about this time that a servant of Bothwell was seized while endeavoring to convey away a casket which his master had left behind him in the castle of Edinburgh. The contents, viz. letters and poems,

* Melvill, p. 163.

poems, supposed to be the produce of Mary's pen, ^{A.D. 1567.} and directed to Bothwell, were of such importance as, if genuine, to justify every step of the revolted lords, and condemn the unhappy queen to the censure of indelicacy as well as of infidelity. Some time elapsed before any public mention was made of this very important casket.

The associated lords now wished to complete their work, by depriving the queen (with her own consent) of the regal authority. To accomplish this, she was prevented from corresponding with a party of noblemen who had met in her favor at Hamilton, and from all communication with foreign ambassadors; she was terrified with the idea of perpetual imprisonment, and, perhaps, of a trial for the murther of her husband. Besides, she was persuaded by the few friends who had access to her, that whatsoever concessions she might make while in durance, would be void when she regained her liberty.

Elizabeth of England acted on this occasion with more candor and affection towards her sister-queen than had been usual to her. The instructions given to Throgmorton speak much in her favor. She even wrote to the lords assembled at Hamilton, and alarmed the court of France in behalf of the distressed Mary. Perhaps the example of subjects righting themselves, might have somewhat alarmed the jealous sovereign. Her good wishes, however, were of little use; and

Mary,

A.D. 1567. Mary, not without floods of bitter tears, yielded up,* with all due formality, the rule and government of Scotland to her infant son, and the regency to her brother Murray. That wise and popular earl, who had retired to France at the time of the king's murther, now returned; and, after some deliberation, accepted the high office allotted to him by the voice of the nation.

Murray
made re-
gent.

It was not the character of the new regent to be remiss. His steps were hasty and yet prudent. He changed the seal of the kingdom, purchased Edinburgh Castle (the key of the realm) of Sir James Balfour, and forced Wilson, another of Bothwell's creatures, to surrender to him the castle of Dunbar. The last he delivered to the magistrates of the town, and trusted the care of the former to the high-spirited Kirkaldie. But if these precautions did honor to his penetration, a visit which he paid to his forlorn sister at her prison, did little credit to his sensibility, gratitude, or humanity. He received the affectionate and interesting confession of her faults and follies, which she eagerly poured forth into his bosom, with philosophical sternness;† advised her to patience; and only promised that he would endeavor to save her life. Affected by this faint effort of friendship, the forsaken Mary conjured him, for her son's sake and hers, to hold the regency. A request of

which

* Melvill, p. 165.

+ Keith, p. 96.

which he failed not to make frequent mention in ^{A.D. 1567.} the succeeding part of his life.

A parliament closed the history of this busy, eventful year. In this, every act in favor of the reformation was confirmed ; the resignation of Mary registered ; and every possible step taken which could render stability and safety to the late associators. The letters supposed to be Mary's, and found in Bothwell's casket, were produced before this session, and were received as genuine.*

The popularity of the regent was now on the wane. His natural severity of manners, prompted by the extreme necessity of unforgiving strictness in every department, had disengaged many. He ^{1568.} found that many of his trusted friends began now to quit his side ; that the adherents to the queen had again collected a strong party ; and that the house of Hamilton, and all the favorers of the old religion, were unanimously disposed to pity and relieve her distress. A sudden change of fortune placed Mary at the head of her friends. Her natural graces and talents for insinuation had subdued the heart of George Douglas,† half-brother to the regent, and an inhabitant of Loch-levin castle. By his means she had attempted an escape in the disguise of a laundress, with a bundle of linen on her head, but had been discovered by the whiteness

Murray
losses his
popularity

* Anderson, vol. ii. p. 206.

+ Buchanan, lib. xix. Holingshed's Scotland, p. 391.

A.D. 1568. ness of her hands, to the boatmen ; who although they rowed her back to her prison, yet had so much generosity as not to make her enterprize known to her keeper. A second trial succeeded better. On the 2d of May, 1568, the keys of the castle were secreted by George Douglas, (a lad of eighteen) and thrown into the lake, when Mary had been by their means let out of her prison : accompanied by one maid she sprang into the boat, and was rowed by Douglas to the shore, where she was received by Lord Seaton, Sir James Hamilton, and their friends, who conveyed her quickly to Hamilton. Almost instantly she found herself from a prisoner a queen, at the head of a

Mary
escapes
from
Loch-
levin.
Raises an army.

numerous nobility, and 6000 soldiers. She renounced the resignation of the crown, and every step which terror had forced her to take; and she saw an association* formed in her favor, and signed by many of those who had set their hands to one of a contrary nature a few weeks before.

Numbers were now on the side of Mary, but neither prudence, subordination, nor union ; her best step, it should seem, had been to march northwards, and to join Huntley and his numerous Roman Catholic dependents ; but the Hamilton party prevailed, and it was determined to fight the regent in the south. Had even this been done instantly, perhaps his party might have been crushed ;

* Keith, p. 475.

crushed; but hesitation, divisions, and negotiation, delayed the time, and gave opportunity for that discerning and experienced captain to post the daring Kirkaldie with a body of infantry (conveyed hastily on horseback behind troopers)* on an eminence called Langside-hill, which commanded the destined field of battle. A.D. 1568.
Battle of Langside.

The expectations of Mary's friends were high, as they brought to the field nearly double the number of their foes. The Hamiltons had already triumphed in imagination over their old enemies Murray, Morton, Glencairn, &c. and the Archbishop of St. Andrew's already viewed in the victorious queen a wife for one of his nephews; but the event baffled this pregnant hope. The violent attack of the southern infantry was repelled by the regent's spearmen, while the fire of Kirkaldie's musquetry flanked the Hamiltons, and drove them to a total rout. Very few fell in this battle, through the particular humanity of the regent and Kirkaldie,† who rode about the field intreating the conquerors to spare their unfortunate countrymen. The regent triumphs.

Mary, too confident of victory, had watched on a rising ground each motion of the armies; at length, seeing her expected laurels blasted by the event of the day, she drew animation from despair, and hurried from the field. Goaded by terror

* Melvill, p. 175.

+ Ibid. p. 176.

A.D. 1568. nor she rode towards England, nor ever rested until she had reached the abbey of Dundrenan,* in Galloway, sixty miles from the place of action. She stayed not there ; her fears still pressing her on, she disregarded the intreaties of her faithful attendants, the Lords Herries and Fleming, that would have guarded her from trusting to Elizabeth, whom she had already disengaged, and rendered mistrustful by perpetually refusing to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh ; and throwing Mary flies herself into a boat, entered Cumberland, before to Eng- her servants had been able to apprise the Governor- land. or of Carlisle of his royal visitor's approach.

The reception which she met with in the south, where, instead of a sister, she found a rival ; instead of protection, imprisonment ; has already been related in the History of England. ‘With Elizabeth and her counsellors,’ writes a modern historian, ‘the question was not what was most just or generous, but what was most beneficial to herself and to the English nation?’ And, indeed, the extreme hazard both to church and state from any other measure than that which she embraced, is the only excuse which can be alleged in defence of the stern daughter of Henry VIII.

In the mean while the regent was not idle ; he reduced several castles belonging to the party of Mary, and shewed so formidable a countenance, that Huntley, who was advancing towards the capital

* Keith, p. 481.

pital with 2000 men, thought it best to retire. A.D. 1568.
Murray now marched towards the west, and the estates of those who had adhered to the queen would have been laid waste, had not Elizabeth at her earnest intreaty interposed, [48] and persuaded him to disband his forces; and the friends of Mary having at her request consented to the same measure, he found leisure, in spite of the endeavors of his enemies, and even of the wishes of Elizabeth, to convoke a parliament. There he found a great majority of friends to the cause he had supported; little favor was shewn in this assembly to those of the other party; and whatever moderation appeared, was owing to William Maitland of Lethington, who had already, from generosity or versatility of spirit, formed resolutions in favor of his fair, oppressed queen.

Not long after this, the regent, with Morton, Lindsay, and several other noblemen, assisted by two of the first men of the age for literature and abilities, Maitland and Buchanan, met the Duke of Norfolk and the other commissioners of Elizabeth, and the friends of Mary, at York. Mur- Confer-
ray would not have attended in person, could he ences at
have prevailed on the other lords to have taken York.
the

NOTES.

[48] John Knox had exerted his influence just before to save six of the queen's chief friends who had been taken at Langside, and after a trial had been doomed to execution as traitors.

[CALDERWOOD.]

A. D. 1568. the charge upon them, nor would he have taken Maitland with him, had he not dreaded the commotions which his popularity and intriguing spirit might have stirred up at home. After some time spent without gaining ground, a private negotiation was commenced, and a marriage was cautiously planned between Mary and Norfolk, with the participation of the regent; at length, Elizabeth, uneasy at finding no pretence to detain her sister-queen, removed the conferences to Westminster. It was there that the Earl of Lenox solemnly accused Mary as the murtheress of his son, and that the regent was prevailed on, by promises of protection if he made good his charge, and by menaces Casket of if he should stop half-way, to produce the fatal silver letters produced. ver casket given by Francis II. to Mary, and by her to the worthless Bothwell; and the letters, contracts, and other MSS which, if genuine, [49] were

NOTES.

[40] Whoever wishes to enter into the contest and convince himself as to the proper degree of credit which these celebrated letters may command, he may find them and the poems in Anderson's collection; and may read on the one side Dr. Robertson's Dissertation, and Hume's History of Tudors, p. 499, 500; on the other side, he may examine the seventh volume of Guthrie's Scotland. The strongest evidence that Mary never wrote the poems, &c. in question, may be deduced from their internal evidence. Surely the elegant authoress of the elegy on Francis II. could hardly have written the gross lines with which those performances abound!

were completely sufficient to cover the wretched ^{A.D. 1568:} ~~Mary~~ with a cloud of infamy.*

The regent was now anxious for permission to return to Scotland, where the situation of his party was growing critical; besides the promises of assistance which were daily sent by Mary to keep her friends from being disheartened, they had just heard of a new bulwark added to their cause. France, unable from her own civil wars to add much to the miseries of Scotland by an armed force, tried at least to form one new division in the country, by sending them the late regent, Chatelherault, with a sum of money to raise forces. He passed through England and conferred with Mary,† who delegated to him an almost kingly power, and treated him as her father. Elizabeth detained him under various pretences some weeks, but at length he set out for the north at the same time with the regent; who although he could gain no public declaration from the English court in his favor, was consoled by fair promises and a large sum of money secretly committed to his charge. Elizabeth was, indeed, driven to the necessity of supporting him; as she found by an intercepted letter, written by the incautious Mary, that she was looked on by that queen and her friends as an irreconcileable enemy. The Earl of Murray reached Edinburgh

* Anderson, vol. iv. p. 179, 183, &c. Buchanan, lib. xix.

† Buchanan, lib. xix.

A.D. 1569. Edinburgh in proper time ; by exerting his usual spirit and address, he prevented the revolt meditated by the old Chatelherault, but with his accustomed moderation granted him an honorable treaty ; by virtue of which, the prisoners of Langside regained their liberty and estates, on the easy condition of paying their allegiance to the son of their queen. The head of the Hamiltons, with his usual instability, soon endeavored to raise new commotions ; but the active regent met him half way, seized his person, and confined him and the Lord Herries in the Castle of Edinburgh.* His accomplices, Argyle and Huntley, with their clans, were soon dispersed ; and Murray, who was never accused of inhumanity, permitted them to make their peace on moderate terms. It was soon after this disturbance, that the engagements entered into between the Queen of Scots and Norfolk became known to Elizabeth. They had indeed proceeded so far, that the susceptible Mary had warmly intreated the regent that he would render her accessible to the addresses of a fourth husband, by annulling her inauspicious union with Bothwell. The English queen, with her usual activity, imprisoned the daring Norfolk, and speedily routed his two revolting friends, Percy and Nevil, of Northumberland and Westmoreland.†

The

* Melville, p. 193. Buchanan, lib. xix.

† Camden's Eliza, p. 422, &c.

The Scottish regent had just at this period a reverse of fortune. He had long suspected that Maitland, of Lethington, had betrayed his counsels, and seduced from his interest his firmest friends; he meant to confine him for this conduct, and found a pretence to send him to Edinburgh Castle. Unhappily, the gallant Kirkaldie, of Grange, who had been placed to command that fortress by the regent, was one of those whose fidelity the art of this adroit tempter had shaken from its foundation. He released Maitland as soon as he had entered his walls, and afterwards acted only by his direction. Still the generous Murray trusting to his honor, visited him unguarded in his castle, and left him in possession of that important fortress while he went to the borders, where he exerted such prudence and activity, in quieting the turbulent and punishing the plunderers, that every one spoke loudly in his praise.* The situation of the Scots, in point of civil government, was, at this period, and for many years after, truly deplorable. Assassinations [50] were frequent,

NOTES.

[50] The story of one of these outrages, nearly of this date, related in Mr. Pennant's Tour to Scotland, is interesting. John and Robert Innes, two lairds, joined to assassinate their relation Alexander Innes, at Aberdeen; the son (named also Alexander) escaped. After the murther, John and Robert having by a bribe corrupted a servant of the deceased, sent him

* Buchanan, ubi supra.

A.D. 1569. frequent, and men were forced to depend for preservation on their own strength, and that of their castles and dependents, since the laws, overpowered by the din of arms, were totally silent.

1570. The assassination of ‘The Good Regent,’* (for so says Melvill he was, and ever will be, deservedly called)

NOTES.

him to the castle of Innes on his master’s horse, with his seal as a token, to demand an important box of writings. The widow apprehending no fraud, delivered them to the traitor. It luckily chanced that a young man of the family desired the bribed servant to let him ride behind him to Aberdeen: the servant refused, but shewed such marks of confusion that, the young Innes suspecting him, a broil ensued, the treacherous servant was killed, and the box of writings carried back to the widow: by which an estate in dispute between Alexander and John, the title to which depended on those writings, was saved to the family of Alexander.

The whole affair soon became public; and, notwithstanding the complaint of the widow, yet John and Robert lived in peace and impunity on their estates, above two years after the murder. At length, the widow not ceasing her complaints, they were declared out-laws, and the young Alexander went with a party to seize their persons. John was soon taken, and compounded for his life by the gift of an estate; but Robert stood on his defence, and was at length taken by that very young man who had providentially punished the treacherous servant. He was ever after styled, ‘Craig in Peril,’ because of his combat with the desperate assassin. As to Robert, ‘there was no mercy for him, for slain he was; and his hoar-head cut off, and taken to the widow of him whom he had slain, and carried to Edinburgh, and casten at the king’s feet; a thing,’ adds the narrator, ‘too masculine to be commended in a wooman.’

[APPENDIX TO FIRST SCOTTISH TOUR.]

* Spotswood, p. 234.

called) clouded over the dawn of 1570. He lost ^{A.D. 1570.} his life for a fault not his own; he had, at the intreaty of Knox, spared the forfeited head of a Hamilton of Bothwell-haugh; but had given his estate to a friend, Sir John Ballentyne, who had taken possession of it in so harsh a manner as to drive the unhappy wife of the culprit to madness. Determined on revenge, and unhappily pointing that revenge at the regent, and not at the man whose brutality had immediately done the injury, the enraged Hamilton watched every step he took, and pursued his design with an openness which might have been fatal to him, had the object of his resentment been more suspicious. At Linlithgow,* he found an opportunity he had long sought; he shot his enemy ^{The re-} through the body as he rode (although warned of ^{gentslain.} his danger) slowly along the street, and mounting his horse, escaped to the sea-side and thence to France.[51]

The

NOTES.

[51] The precautions taken by the assassin argued uncommon coolness and solicitude for success and safety. He posted himself in a wooden room, (or as it is called gallery) near which the regent was obliged to come; he covered the floor with a feather-bed that his motions might not be heard, and he hung up black garments facing the window that his shadow might not be seen: then with his knife he cut a hole in the wall of the chamber for his gun to pass through. The murtherer was forwarded in his flight by the Hamiltons, the deadly foes of Mur-

ray.

* Melvill, p. 196.

A.D. 1570. The regent died, after a few hours pain, with philosophic firmness. He earnestly commended the care of the infant-king to the lords around him, and hearing those who stood near lamenting that he saved Hamilton from death to become his murtherer, uttered with his dying voice a sentiment which would have done honor to an Antoninus :

‘ Nothing can make me repent of an act of clemency.’*

His character. Thus fell James Stuart, Earl of Murray, the son of James V. of Scots, by a private marriage, as his mother (the daughter of Lord Erskine) and her relations steadily affirmed. ‘ He was,’ says one of the steadiest friends to Mary, ‘ at first, of a gentle nature, well-inclined, wise, and stout; in his first uprising his hap was to light on the best sort of company; he was religiously educated, and devoutly inclined.’ He did eminent services to Scotland and to the Protestant faith; and could he be absolved from the charge of harshness and cruelty to a sister, who seemed disposed to

love

NOTES.

ray. The horse that waited for him even belonged to Lord Claud Hamilton.

It is said that the fugitive refused a large premium offered to him in France, if he would slay the great Coligny. ‘ He had dipped his hands once in blood,’ he said, ‘ to take vengeance for an injury; but that no mercenary motives should tempt him to commit a murther.’

[SPOTISWOOD.]

* Spotiswood, Buchanan, lib. xix.

love him tenderly, his character would be without a flaw.^{A.D. 1570.} [52]

The party of Mary received the news of Murray's death with immoderate and indecent triumph; the Hamiltons, in particular, loudly avowed their joy, and the very next day, Scot and Buccleugh, two of Mary's warmest adherents, invaded the English border and ravaged it with uncommon barbarity; a circumstance which made many suppose that the regent's murther had been concerted by the whole party, since, had they not been certain of his death, the plunderers had not dared to violate the peace between the nations.

Elizabeth, with her usual policy, made great advantages of this imprudent incursion. After declaring that she only blamed a party, and not the Scottish nation for what had been done, she bade her troops invade the southern districts and

U 2

lay

NOTES.

[52] The testimonies in favor of this great man from the pen of the eloquent Buchanan may be thought interested, as the regent had the honor of being his patron; but the venerable Spotswood has commended him highly, and the classical praise of De Thou, a disinterested contemporary, will remind the reader of a Tacitus recording an Agricola: ‘*Dum viveret, sciso factionibus regno, sinistri rumoribus ab ænulis lacerratus; sed post quam mortuis est, veres laudibus etiam ab inimiciis laudatus; qui, et preventum animi in periculis, felicitatem in præleis, injure dicendo reputant, morum gravitatem cum liberalitate humanitatem summa conjunctam, predicabent.*’

A.D. 1570. lay waste the estates of the queen's party. [53]

Lenox
made re-
gent.

Sussex and Scroop led two armies beyond the borders; while a smaller corps, under Sir William Drury, penetrated to Glasgow and joined the royalists, as the favorers of the king's authority in opposition to Mary were now called. The effect of this powerful support was immediate. Lenox, whom England recommended, was chosen regent and began his administration with vigor. He prevented the meeting of a parliament convened by the queen's friends at Linlithgow; he dispersed a body of troops raised by Huntley; he displaced Maitland, (who, from a prisoner, had been made secretary of state) and made the parliament attaint him, Chatelherault, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, Huntley, and others of Mary's adherents, as traitors. He was supported in these spirited measures by the advice of Randolph, the most active* of Elizabeth's emissaries. Discouraged and depressed, the friends of the Scottish queen applied to France and Spain for aid, but in vain; and it was only the particular interest

of

NOTES.

[53] Some authors carry their ideas of Elizabeth's policy so far as to suppose, that she directed the lands of particular noblemen (*e. g.* the Lord Hume's) to be desolated, in order to drive them into the queen's faction, and by that means keep the Scottish parties in a kind of equilibrium. [MELVILL.]

* Melvill, p. 203, 207.

of Elizabeth, which led her to wish for a peace, ^{A.D. 1570.} that prevented their total destruction.* Lenox, who wanted not spirit and activity, would have driven them to extremities, but was curbed by the strong arm of his potent ally and protectress.

The negotiations carried on between Elizabeth and her prisoner, at this season, have been before described. Mary was indeed so compliant, as to give to the English queen no opportunity to break off a treaty which she was determined should never have effect. The Scottish royalists, however, who dreaded the return of Mary, afforded her a fair pretext for a rupture, by refusing to permit the authority of the infant-king to be diminished.† The commissioners thought new powers necessary; and the treaty broke off at the same time nearly that the cessation of arms expired. Treaty with Mary at a stand.

Scarcely had a day elapsed after that period, ere the castle of Dunbarton, the strongest of the Scottish fortresses, and the best station for landing succors from foreign parts, garrisoned with choice troops, and situated on an inaccessible rock, was surprized and taken by a daring handful of royalists. Captain Crawford, who contrived this astonishing enterprize,[‡] mounted the rock where it was highest and steepest, as the fewest guards were there to be found. The first ladder

* Spotiswood, p. 243. † Haynes, p. 524, 528.

‡ Buchanan, lib. xx.

Surprise
of Dun-
barton
castle.

A.D. 1571. ladder broke with the weight of the assailants, yet the garrison were not alarmed; a second ladder was raised, but the ascent of the party was stopped by the convulsive disorder of one man, who clung seemingly lifeless to the middle of the ladder. Crawford, unwilling to kill his comrade, contrived to bind him to the ladder, and to turn his body round in such manner as to permit the party to climb over him. The enterprize succeeded; Lord Fleming, the governor, alone escaped; but his lady, Verac the French ambassador, and Hamilton Archbishop of St. Andrew's, were made prisoners. The government of the castle he had so gallantly taken was with justice given to Crawford; Lady Fleming was treated with politeness; and Verac with a respect which he had no right to claim, as he had degraded the sacred character of an ambassador by meddling in party disputes. A worse fate attended the ill-starred prelate; his great abilities, his activity and firmness in his patroness's cause, deprived him of every chance for favor; he was led to Stirling, where he was charged before a court of justice with the murther of his king: * no proof, however, appearing of that fact, his former attainder was brought forward, and, on the fourth day after the surprize of Dunbarton, he was executed on a gallows; † a mean end, 'from which' (says a celebrated historian) 'the high offices which he had

* Spotswood, p. 252.

+ Ibid.

had enjoyed both in church and state ought to ^{A.D. 1571.} have exempted him.' [54]

Meanwhile Kirkaldie strengthened himself in Edinburgh castle and awed the townsmen, who were strongly inclined to the party of the king. He had received from France money and provisions; the Hamiltons, and other friends of Mary, resorted to him; the resignation of the queen was publicly declared to be null and void; and his force became so considerable, that he meditated an enterprize which might well repay the disgraceful loss of Dunbarton, by striking a decisive blow to the party of the king. Morton, on the other hand, who led the royalists, had fortified Leith, and straitened Edinburgh. He had gained some advantage in various skirmishes, and the war proceeded with incredible animosity, although the forces in pay on each side hardly exceeded the number of 700. A parliament had been convened by each faction. The queen's was small,

NOTES.

[54] The following distich was addressed to the tree which served (at Stirling) as a gallows for the Archbishop of St. Andrew's:

'Vive diu, felix arbor, semper que vireto,
'Frondibus, ut nobis talia poma feras.'

Imitated,

'Hail, happy tree! may verdure ever crown
'Thy boughs, while pensile fruit like this they own.'

A.D. 1571. small, and sat at Edinburgh ; three peers and two prelates formed the Upper House ; and, few as they were, they attainted 200 of the king's adherents. The royalists, (who, although they for form-sake opened their parliament also at a spot within the limits of Edinburgh, but distant from the castle, soon prorogued it and sat at Stirling) were numerous, and their appearance splendid. The potent Earls of Argyle, Eglinton, and Cassillis, had joined this senate ; and like their rivals at Edinburgh, they began with forming acts inimical to the other party. But their deliberations were unpleasantly interrupted by a camisade from Edinburgh ; 400 chosen men, under Lord Huntley and Lord Claud Hamilton, early one morning entered Stirling with silence ; and surrounding the principal quarters, surprized the regent in his bed, and every lord of the king's party, except the Earl of Morton, who defended his house with desperate valor until it was set on fire. He yielded then ; but his resistance had given time for the Earl of Mar to be alarmed, to rush down from the castle with a few resolute soldiers, and, by a gallant exertion of desperate valor, to rescue the captive lords. In vain did the assailants endeavor to rally their men ; they had dispersed for the sake of plunder, and fled in confusion. Not one of the officers of the queen's party could have escaped, had not the borderers seized and rode off with every

horse in Stirling * at their first entrance, and A.D. 1571.
so prevented any pursuit.

The regent was the only royalist who suffered; he was slain in spite of the endeavors of Sir David Spence, [55] to whom the care of him had been particularly recommended by Kirkaldie, who planned the enterprize; and who, had he been permitted by his anxious friends to command in it, would certainly on that day have completely ruined the party adverse to Mary. The death of Lenox gave no great concern to any but Kirkaldie; he was on the whole a well-meaning man, and a lover of peace, but too passionate and unsteady for a commander in chief. The Lord Mar, an honest and patriotic peer, who could plead great merit in

his

NOTES.

[55] Sir David Spence was a gallant and successful leader; he eagerly endeavored to save the regent, as he knew that Kirkaldie depended on gaining him to his cause. He even was wounded in his defence. When the party under Mar rescued the captives, the dying Lenox endeavored to repay the kindness of Sir David by protecting him; it was too late, and the generous contest ended in the death of both. The confusion was so great in the retreat from Stirling, that most of those who had seized the lords in their beds, yielded themselves as prisoners to their lately-made captives. The word of the assault was, ‘The Queen! and Remember the Archbishop!’ The regent, when carried to a couch and told that his wounds were mortal, only said, ‘If the babe’ (the king) ‘be well, all is well.’

[SPOTISWOOD, BUCHANAN, &c.

* Melvill, p. 215, 216.

A.D. 1571. his attention to the young king's education, and in his late conduct in the rescue of the lords, was chosen regent in his room, in preference to Ar-gyle and Morton, his competitors.

Elizabeth hostile to Mary. Just at this time the whole weight of Elizabeth's power was thrown into the scale of the king's partizans. By the timidity [56] of the Bishop of Ross, whose fear of the rack extorted from him all his royal mistress's secrets, she had discovered Mary's negotiation with Norfolk and with foreign powers ; she had no longer, therefore, any measures to keep ; but resolved openly to support the young king's authority, and to humble the friends of Mary, whom she now looked on in the light of a determined foe.

1572. The civil war was now carried on in Scotland with an inhumanity beyond example ; no quarter was given in the field, and numbers of prisoners taken in the country were put to death in cool blood. No rank could command humanity ; the ties of nature yielded to the blind zeal of party ; sons

NOTES.

[56] It must be owned, that the visible confusion of the terrified bishop's communications diminish in some degree their credit. He accuses his mistress of crimes which were never alleged against her, nor (on account of their absurdity) can ever be credited for a single moment. Such as, ' that she poisoned her first husband, Francis II.' ; ' that she led Bothwell to the field of battle that he might be sacrificed,' &c. &c.

sons ravaged the lands of their parents, and brothers calmly witnessed the execution of their brethren.

A.D. 1572.

Edinburgh, (which, contrary to its principles, took part through fear with Kirkaldie) was reduced to great straits by Morton's blockade; that active commander had destroyed the mills * all around the town, and placed garrisons in every church or house which could be defended. The city and castle were by this measure prevented from receiving any supplies, and must soon have surrendered; had not a truce, strongly recommended by England and France, and agreed to by the Scots for two months, restored plenty to the garrison and inhabitants. + This was the consequence of a peace between England and France, concluded under deplorable auspices, as it was immediately followed by the massacre of Paris. It served, however, to prove the insincerity of Mary's foreign allies; the ambassador scarcely mentioned her name to the English queen; he desired, indeed, visibly for the sake of form, that the rigor of her confinement might be softened, but never repeated the request nor urged the performance.

Killigrew and Drury were at this time joined to Randolph in commission, that they might assist the French ambassador, Du Croc, in pacifying the Scots. Their success was not immediate; for, just

at

* Buchanan, lib. xx.

+ Camden, p. 444.

A.D. 1572. at this time, a large convoy of necessaries for the castle was taken by the royalists, and every man of the party slain or hanged ; while, almost at the same instant, fifty-six of the king's party were executed under the castle walls at Edinburgh.

The Re-
gent Mar
dies.

Morton
succeeds.

The horror of these frequently-repeated scenes of studied inhumanity, weighed down to the ground the spirit and health of the patriotic regent. He saw himself crossed in every endeavor to form a union of parties ; he saw the power of Morton superior to his own ; and he found himself utterly unable to stem the torrent of misery which overflowed his country. He sank [57] beneath the load of woe ; and left Morton without a rival to dispute his title to the regency. Supported by Elizabeth, there could be no doubt of his success ; and he became the fourth regent of Scotland within the space of five years. He had not long before given up to the governor of Berwick the Earl of Northumberland, who had fled for refuge to Scotland. Could Morton have refused any thing to Elizabeth, it should have been this demand, as he had peculiar obligations to the unfortunate nobleman.

Before

NOTES.

[57] It is a curious circumstance, and marks the anarchic turn of the times, that the Regent Mar should have left the tuition of the young king and the government of Stirling castle to persons of his own name and family *by will* ; and that the regularity of the bequests was not disputed by the new regent.

Before the close of 1572, the celebrated John ^{A.D. 1572.} Knox, the founder of Scottish reformation, died at the age of seventy-five. The daring and unprincipled Morton, whom that stern teacher had frequently censured with uncourtly civility, witnessed his funeral, and thus pronounced his eulogy: ‘ There lies he who never feared the face of man.’ [58]*

Morton had now reached the summit of his ^{1573.} ambition ; and seemed to wish to enjoy in quiet that pre-eminence to which his turbulent spirit had exalted him. Elizabeth, too, (without whose directions he proceeded not a step) at this period, shewed a desire to afford peace and union to those Scots, whose divisions she had so long and so assiduously fomented. She saw her danger from the firm, though private and impolitic, connection of France and Spain, and was desirous of finding in Scotland an ally and support against foreign attacks.

To bring about an advantageous agreement, ^{Peace} Morton, with his usual dextrous duplicity, treated ^{with Chatelherault} separately with the two divisions of Mary’s party. He had found Kirkaldie too much on his guard ; but those in districts distant from the capital, headed by Chatelherault, by Huntley, and Sir Adam Gordon

NOTES.

[58] ‘ His severity,’ says Randolph in one of his dispatches, ‘ keepeth us’ (meaning the queen and court of Scotland) ‘ in marvellous order.’

* Spottiswood, apud Robertson, vol. ii. p. 36.

A.D. 1573. Gordon (a leader more fortunate than humane, [59]) listened readily to his proposals, abandoned the interest of Kirkaldie and his brave garrison, and consented to acknowledge him as regent, provided that every act by which the partizans of Mary were attainted, should be repealed.*

Not so the party headed by the intrepid Kirkaldie, and the adroit and sanguine Maitland of Lethington. They held the first fortress in the realm, and kept the capital in awe; they had also received some small supply from France, and had fair promises of more: to these promises, and to chances which might fall out in their favor, did they chuse to trust, although shamefully and absurdly forsaken by their party, rather than confide in the offers of Morton, of whose personal enmity they were both apprehensive. But Elizabeth, who was determined that no place in Scotland should remain in such hands as would willingly receive auxiliaries from France, sent a strong body of troops

NOTES.

[5] This nobleman, under the name of 'Edom o' Gordon,' had been charged with heinous deeds of cruelty in an affecting ballad, which may be found in one of the most elegant of modern collections, 'The Reliques of Antient English Poetry.' The real infamy of the deed is said, by some, to belong to a Captain Care or Ker, who probably fought under Lord Adam's banner; but Archbishop Spotswood positively charges it on Lord Adam.

[HIST. OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.]

* Melvill, p. 225.

troops under Sir William Drury, well provided ^{A.D. 1573.} with artillery, to reduce the castle. During one month it resisted a resolute and spirited attack with constant bravery ; but the water failing, the garrison mutinied, and forced their gallant leader to surrender. Kirkaldie delivered himself to Drury, who treated him kindly, until he was directed by Elizabeth to give him to the custody of the regent ;* but Morton, dreading his active and daring spirit, caused him [60] and his brother James to be executed on a gallows in the market-place of Edinburgh, Lord Hume, and other officers of the garrison, quitted their country and served abroad ; and Maitland, knowing what doom he had to expect, put an end to his own life by poison.

The regent, now possessed of unlimited authority, and delivered by death from his only dangerous competitors, Chatelherault and Argyle, per-

^{Kirkaldie taken and put to death.}

^{1574. Virtues and vices of Morton.}

mitted

NOTES.

[60] Sir James Melvill dwells with affection on the character William Kirkaldie of the Grange. ‘ In the house,’ (says he) he was humble and meek as a lamb, but like a lion in the field. He was a lusty, strong, and well-proportioned personage ; hardy, and of a magnanimous courage ; secret and prudent in all his enterprizes : I heard,’ he adds, ‘ Henry II. of France point unto him and say, “ Yonder is one of the most valiant men of our age.”’ Morton demanded his death of Elizabeth, declaring, that neither his person nor authority were in safety while Kirkaldie survived.

* Melvill, p. 228, 229.

A.D. 1574. mitted his naturally yavaritious disposition to unfold itself, and turned every thing to his own profit. He performed, however, some important services to the country. At his accession to command, anarchy prevailed in every district ; and a firm government like that of Morton, was needed to stop the course of that unbridled licentiousness which, protected by one or the other faction, had overrun the realm. These disorders he repressed with a strong hand ; and, by a series of vigorous exertions, restored order and a due administration of justice throughout the kingdom : but he tarnished the lustre of these great works by the insatiable desire of gain, which he manifested on all occasions. He debased the coin, oppressed the church,* encouraged monopolies, and shewed his administration venal in every branch.

Mean while the unfortunate Mary, now more than ever obnoxious to her powerful rival, continued under the care of Lord Shrewsbury. She was, as an especial favor, permitted to drink the waters of Buxton, but so extremely jealous was Elizabeth of those who went near her, that she had nearly disgraced the old and faithful Lord Burleigh, for paying a visit to those wells at this time, although merely as a valetudinarian.†

1575.
Dispute
on the
borders.

A dispute on the borders, such a one as would, a few years before, have involved the sister-nations in

* Spotiswood, p. 273. † Strype, vol. ii. p. 248 288.

in a war, was compromised early in 1575, by the ^{A.D. 1575.} deliberate and decent conduct of Elizabeth and the regent. The English had been worsted, and Forester the warden, and many others, made prisoners. Sir John Carmichael, the Scottish warden, repaired to London, and answered so well for his conduct, that Elizabeth treated him with respect and dismissed him with honor.

The death of the profligate Bothwell [61] in a Danish prison, and a declaration (of disputed authenticity) which he left behind him, were topics of discourse towards the close of the same year: but still more interesting was an attack made by a private clergyman (named Andrew Melvill) on the Episcopal order. But this will be related in the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland.

A quarrel between the Earls of Athol and Argyll had nearly proved, in 1576, the destruction of both these noblemen. The vassals of the one had committed depredations on the other; he was demanded in vain by the injured party, and arms were snatched up on both sides. The con-

1576.

test

NOTES.

[61] It seems strange that an author so respectable as Mr. Guthrie, should allow any credit to the asseverations in a will, in which the testator affirms, ‘that, as he had from his youth addicted himself much to the art of *enchantment* at Paris and elsewhere, he had bewitched the queen (Mary) to fall in love with him,’ &c. &c. &c.

A.D. 1576. test would have been decided by battle, had not the regent obliged both parties to lay down their arms. Eager to break the force of two such potent chiefs, the insidious Morton summoned both to court, meaning to involve both in a charge of treason, but their good genius tempted a clerk, named Campbell, who had been intrusted, to reveal the plot: in consequence, the invitation was disregarded, and the bearers dismissed with contempt by each of the summoned earls.*

1577. The tide of the regent's prosperity had now passed its utmost height, and began to ebb apace. Besides Athol and Argyle, the house of Hamilton detested him, and earnestly sought his ruin; yet did he daily add to their enmity by new provocations. He even pretended to suspect the Lord Claud Hamilton of a design to murther him; and actually put Semple, one of that nobleman's dependents, to the torture, under pretence of clearing the innocence of his patron.

It was to the young but promising James, that the nobility looked for protection from this artful, daring despot. James, though but twelve years of age, afforded a fair prospect of futurity. He had been well educated by the regent Mar, and since his death by his brother Alexander Erskine; and the great George Buchanan was his preceptor. + He had a strong appetite for learning; and, young

Character
of James.

as

* Crawford's Mem. p. 285.

+ Melvill, p. 234.

as he was, a still more eager wish for power. A.D. 1577.
 The regent Morton was never in his favor, and he listened with delight to every intimation of his delinquency. Athol, Argyle, and the Hamiltons, found means, by the connivance of Erskine,* to be admitted to his presence, and to acquaint him with the unjust rigor of Morton's government, and the aspirations of the Scots for a change. They even prevailed on him to issue his letters to summon a council, and they took care that only those who hated the regent should be summoned.

The discontented lords could not have chosen a fitter time for the contest. Morton's avidity had disgusted many; the clergy detested him for his oppressive treatment of their community, and only united with him in abhorrence of the imprisoned Mary; and his patroness, the English queen, was too deeply engaged in protecting the United States against the designs of the Spaniards, to be able to spare a force sufficient for his support. All these circumstances presaged the fall of the regent.

But the strong mind of Morton had penetrated the schemes of his foes, and pointed out to him that he must give way, in order to return with the greater force. He at once, and with no bad grace, resigned the regency to the young monarch, who, solemnly before the inhabitants of his capital, took upon himself the supreme government, and

A.D. 1578. accepted a full approbation of his services, and an indemnity for all offences. * Yet, the eagerness of his enemies, (a council of twelve appointed to assist the king with their advice) which prompted them to attack his vast property, had nearly turned him from the sober path of a temporary submission, to the folly of a fruitless resistance. The king, young as he was, who dreaded as much as he hated him, interfered in his favor, and Morton retired to a distant castle on a solitary lake. A new turn of affairs was at hand; Glamis, the Chancellor, fell by the enmity of the Crawfords, in one of the common brawls of the times; and Athol, a reputed papist, being promoted to his office, the cautious Protestants soon began to remark, that Roman Catholics, whom they abhorred still more than they did the late regent, had totally surrounded the king; and the tide of popularity began to turn again in favor of the lately detested Earl of Morton, whose steady adherence to the reformation was never doubted, although it did little credit to a good cause. That great politician, who had watched in his retirement every step of his enemies, now issued from the castle of Loch Levin, styled by the people his ‘Lion’s Den;’ and, with his usual artifice, prevailed on the Earl of Mar to deprive Alexander Erskine, his uncle, a most determined foe to Morton, of the custody both of

Re-as-
sumes
his pow-
er.

the

* Crawf. Memoirs, p. 289.

the king and of Stirling castle. As soon as this was accomplished, the artful instigator of the enterprize entered the castle,* took the command, and by his astonishing talents became once more arbiter of the privy-council, and even procured himself to be, in some degree; favored by the unsteady James.

Athol and Argyle flew to arms ; at the head of 7000 soldiers they marched to deliver, as they vaunted, their king from durance ; on their banners were inscribed distichs, [62] expressive of their upright intentions. Morton, by means of his nephew Angus, the warden of the border, raised 5000 southern men, who waited the coming of his foes without terror. A civil war was on the point of breaking out, when Sir Robert Bowes, arriving from Elizabeth, proved a successful mediator ; and a peace was settled and confirmed by a convention of noblemen. Morton, without the title, retained the power of the regency ; and the infant James, though nominally king, submitted like the rest to this re-assumed sway.

The

NOTES.

[62] On one was a short dialogue between the king and the associated lords :

King.—‘ Captive I am, liberty I crave.’

Lords.—‘ Our lives we will lose, or that ye shall have.’

[MSS MEM. OF BALFOUR.]

* Melvill, p. 237.

A.D. 1579. The sudden decease of the Chancellor Athol after a banquet given by Morton, awakened those suspicions which had lain dormant since the equally seasonable death of the Regent Mar. [63] Morton, by this opportune event, lost a bitter enemy, and by giving his post to Argyle, in some degree made a friend.

**Cruelty
of Mor-
ton.**

Together with the capacity to oppress, Morton found the will return in full force. The house of Hamilton had been suspected of practices against the regents Murray and Lenox ; he accused the Hamiltons of murthering both, and having driven the lords John and Claud out of Scotland, he cruelly included Arran, their eldest brother, in the proscription, although, since his love for Mary of Scots had met a repulse, he had never enjoyed the use of his senses. Yet was his estate forfeited with those of his brothers, and the forfeiture was confirmed by act of parliament.

The unfortunate Mary was still kept in close confinement by her cautious rival. She contrived, however,

NOTES.

[63] Archbishop Spotswood writes, that the body of Athol was opened, and that no symptom of poison appeared. Moyses intimates the contrary. Morton was capable of any act of cruelty. He caused two men of poetical talents, Turnbull and Scott, to be executed at Stirling for uttering sarcasms against his person and government. Morton was, indeed, the Leicester of the North, with a better capacity, and a more daring mind.

however, to send a letter to her son, accompanied ^{A.D. 1579.} by some jewels of considerable value, and a vest embroidered with her own hands. But the unfeeling Morton, taking advantage of the direction, which was, ‘To the Prince of Scotland,’ not ‘the King,’ sent the whole back untouched.

The strange and absurdly-warm attachment ^{1580.} which bound James of Scotland during his whole life to a succession of favorites, had already begun to appear. Two young men at once gained his affections and guided his steps. Esme Stuart, Two Stu[.] Lord D'Aubigny, was his near relation, being favored arts are nephew to the Regent Lenox, the grandfather of by James. the king; he came from France to be presented to his royal cousin; and was made in a short space of time Duke of Lenox, first Lord of the Bed-chamber, and Governor of Dunbarton castle. Many other places were bestowed upon him, nor was his promotion accompanied by the public hatred, as he was of an amiable* and mild character, although not fit for the intrigues of a court. Captain Stuart, (son to the Lord Ochiltree) the rival of Lenox, was of a character totally different. Every vice which could render a favorite odious to a nation, or dangerous to a government, he possessed. He was rash, unprincipled, and ambitious. The restraints of religion, morality, or honor, he despised;

* Melvill, p. 240.

A.D. 1580. despised ; yet he had dexterity enough to gain an ascendant over the unexperienced mind of an infant king, and for a long space succeeded in all his designs, however unattainable they might at first appear.

Their
charac-
ters.

Both these dissimilar courtiers joined in the design of ruining Morton ; whose strong discernment made him foresee the mishap which he could not prevent, unless by some course too desperate for the temper of the nation. It was once rumored, that he meant to carry off the king and deliver him to the custody of Elizabeth ; but, as he earnestly pressed to have an enquiry made into the transaction, it is probable that this report only was meant as a pretext for the establishment of a Lord High-Chamberlain, to be always near the royal person, and of a life-guard consisting of twenty-four young men of noble birth. Lenox was honored with this office, and with the command of the guard.

The falling statesman had in vain attempted to interest the priesthood of Scotland in his behalf, by exclaiming against the new favorite as a Roman Catholic. But Lenox guarded against this attack by publicly embracing the Protestant faith. The support of England was all that now remained to him ; and nothing except the inexperience of the one, and the audacity of the other minion, could have rendered Elizabeth's intercession on Morton's behalf so completely insignificant as it was found

to be. Indeed, it appeared, that the too warm interference of Bowes, the English minister, rather hastened the fall* of the obnoxious earl, than guarded against it.

Early in 1581, the great minister who had ruled Scotland with the tyranny of a despot, but who had guarded it from all ills except those of his own creation, was seized and committed first to the castle of Edinburgh, and then to that of Dumbarton. It had been difficult to reach his life, so well had his pardon been drawn ; but the murther of Henry, the father of James, having been from decency left out of the crimes pardoned, the violent and brutal Captain Stuart, at once accused Morton accused of King Henry's murther, him of being his assassin.+

The Earl of Morton appeared greater in his misfortunes than he had seemed in the plenitude of his power. Conscious, as he declared, of his innocence, he refused the assistance of his nephew Angus ; who, thinking the honor of the Douglas name at stake, offered to head a warlike troop of borderers and risque his life and fortune for his deliverance. Elizabeth was not unconcerned. She remonstrated to James ; she made the Prince of Orange remonstrate ; she even caused a large body of troops to advance towards the northern frontiers, and had the ministers of James been old and cautious, these precautions might have saved her faithful

* Melvill, p. 238.

+ Crawford's Memoirs, p. 323.

A.D. 1581. faithful dependent; but the two Stuarts had no such diffidence. They prepared to repel force by force; and the English queen, sensible that she had carried her interference somewhat too far, withdrew her army. And now Morton, deserted by those who owed their fortunes to his patronage, and tried and condemned by a packed jury, and on evidence wrested by torture from his servants, and even from his nephew Auchinleck, of Balmerino, was brought to the scaffold,* where he died with firmness worthy a better man. [64] Soon after this event the two favorites, to whom their mutual dread of Morton had been a band of union, disagreed, and gradually came to an open rupture. Captain Stuart, from being guardian to the unhappy lunatic Arran,† was permitted by the king,

Condemned
and executed.

The fa-
vorites
disagree.

NOTES.

[64] The confession of Morton has been mentioned before. His excuses for not revealing the plot against the king, might, from a better man, be judged admissible. Opulent as he had been, he was so plundered while in prison, that he was forced to borrow twenty shillings on the scaffold to give among the poor. He was executed by ‘a maiden’: an instrument which, having seen accidentally at Halifax, he drew on the spot, and caused one to be made by that pattern when he reached his home. In later times the engine has been denominated the ‘Guillotine.’ The extreme contempt with which Morton treated the wretched Arran, when he asked his pardon on the scaffold, would furnish a good subject for a historical picture.

* Spotswood, p. 313, 314, 315. † Melvill, p. 210.

king, with a total disregard to justice, to possess ^{A.D. 1581.} himself of his title and estate. He gained a wife by a method still more dishonorable ; he seduced her from the bosom of his best friend, Lord March, to whom she had been married some years ; and she had had the audacity to demand a divorce for the most indelicate of reasons, that she might wed Arran. To regain their characters, this detestable pair became fanatics in religion, affected more than common attachment to the Protestant faith, and even objected to Episcopacy, in order to gain the favor of the most violent among the Presbyterian clergy. Lenox, on the other hand, was the avowed protector of the bishops, and by his counsels encouraged in James that strong propensity which he ever retained towards a regulated hierarchy.

The quarrel between the favorites of a young and timid prince, threw the government of the country into general confusion ; and an interference in ecclesiastical matters, in which the head-strong Arran had presumed* to engage, excited the turbulent temper of the times. Many circumstances, indeed, at this crisis, conspired to raise discontent† in the most powerful barons around the throne; they knew that James received from his favorites lessons of despotism, which he wanted only opportunity to put in practice : they

saw

* Melvill, p. 245. † Spotiswood, p. 320.

A.D. 1581. saw the most oppressive of the feudal tenures revived, and severe fines levied on land-owners for trifling errors; they had also good reason to think, that Lenox had a design to bring about the accomplishment of Maitland's favorite scheme, that of a government carried on by Mary and James united; and they observed that the friendship of Elizabeth was slighted, and dreaded the revival of those ruinous wars which had desolated their fairest districts. They consulted together without distinction of party, and determined to apply a sure, though bitter, remedy.

The king was engaged in a party of hunting, his best-loved diversion, after having in some degree reconciled the two thoughtless young men who governed him and the nation. At Ruthven castle, whither the love of sport had allured him, he was surprised to see a long train of nobles enter his bed-chamber at an early hour one morning, and after receiving a strong remonstrance on the follies and faults of his minions, to find them firmly demanding the dismission of two persons, whose inexperience, they averred, would ruin the realm of Scotland. James listened patiently; but, with a childish dislike to reprehension, pressed to be gone; and, on finding his way obstructed, burst into tears, ‘ Better,’ said the stern tutor of Glamis, ‘ that bairns should weep, than bearded men.’* The severity

* Spotiswood, p. 320.

severity of this apophthegm was never forgotten by the terrified monarch, who instantly, though sadly, yielded his consent to the dismission of his minions. Arran, violent and fierce as usual, rode up hastily to the castle ; and, with only two servants, braved the anger of those associated peers, whose contempt alone of his present insignificance saved his life. He was disarmed and sent as a prisoner to Stirling castle. The milder Lenox was, after some delay, ordered by James to depart the realm. It was long before he could bring himself to obey a command given, as he knew, most unwillingly. At length, slowly passing through England, he reached France, and died of a heart broken by his disappointment in his ambitious friendship ; [65] affirming, with his last words, his strict attachment to the reformed religion.*

In the mean while, an embassy from England confirmed the wavering James in his submission to ‘ the Raid of Ruthven,’ (as the late revolution was named) and he was even persuaded to agree in opinion with a convention of the estates, and to declare,

NOTES.

[65] The conduct of James to the five children of Lenox was parental and affectionate; he sent for them from France, and besides loading the two sons with honors, he married one daughter to Huntley, another to Mar, and the third might have had as respectable an alliance, but chose a cloyster.

[SPOTISWOOD.]

* Spotiswood, p. 322.

A.D. 1582. declare, that the lords concerned in the ‘Raid’ had done the state good service. The Assembly of the Church of Scotland concurred in the same declaration;* while the great respect with which the king was treated, and his apparent acquiescence, induced his subjects to hope that he was not insincere in his professions. But in a country governed by a capricious youth, divided by factions, and headed by turbulent peers, no dependence can be placed on the duration of any political system: and, by another of those ministerial revolutions so

1583. common in Scotland, the month of January had James re-gains his authority. not passed, ere James was, by the contrivance of Colonel Stuart, commander of the body-guards, delivered from the honorable confinement in which ‘the Raid of Ruthven’ had entangled him, and enabled to establish a new set of administrators of government. Argyle, Huntley, and a few more, now possessed his favor, and Gowry was, on his submission, admitted to forgiveness; while Angus, Glencairn, and the rest of the lords of ‘the Raid,’ were exiled or imprisoned; nor did a splendid embassy [66] from England, with the subtle

NOTES.

[66] A short time before this embassy, the English queen had by a letter schooled James for his unsteadiness, and envenomed her strictures with a passage from Isocrates; and James, with pardonable pedantry, had out-reasoned her by returning two passages from the same rhetorician, which militated against her argument.

[MELVILLE]

* Spotiswood, p. 324.

subtle Walsingham at its head, prevail on James A.D.1583. to pardon the offenders, most of whom had fled to England, or to permit them to plead the amnesty granted by the convention. It was the malicious Arran, now re-instated in his power and his place in the royal favor, who had hardened the heart of James, otherwise disposed to moderation, against all applications in favor of these two hardy patriots. The embassy of Elizabeth had no good effect. James answered the complaints of England by recrimination ; and, when reproached with breaking his promise to the exiled lords, pleaded the force he was under at that time, and charged Elizabeth with having neglected to notice a strong intimation which he had then given to her ambassador, Cary, of his want of liberty ; and Walsingham returned to London, after his ineffectual negotiation, with no bad idea of James's capacity for reigning.

As the noblemen, exiled on account of 'the Raid of Ruthven,' were much too potent and too active to sit down contented with their lot, they intrigued for their restoration both with the court and the church. In the former, they gained the assistance of their old associate Earl Gowry,* whose penitence had not placed him in so high a station as he thought his merits in deserting the confederacy might have claimed. In the church they had many friends ; the preachers with one accord

1584.

A.D. 1584. accord espoused their cause, and those who were most popular went greater lengths than reason and loyalty seemed to justify ; but James, encouraged by the fierce Arran, exerted himself, and drove The clergy of Scotland humbled. the boldest declaimers from their pulpits. Dury, who in a sermon had praised ‘ the Raid’ as a salutary measure, was silenced ; and Melvill, who had drawn odious comparisons as to reigns, and had likened James VI. to James III. was obliged to take shelter in England ; * advantage, too, was taken of these imprudent rhapsodies, to fetter the church with laws which prevented the clergy from interfering in political measures. Nor were the military attempts of the friends to the banished lords, more successful than those of the ecclesiastics. Gowry, who was suspected of treasonable designs, was seized by Colonel Stuart at Dundee, after a sharp resistance, and beheaded ; and the banished lords, Angus, Mar, Glamis, &c. who had surprized the castle of Stirling, were forced to leave it precipitately, and take shelter again in England.

Gowry executed.

Arran’s weak conduct. Arran was now supreme Lord of Scotland, and had a full opportunity of gratifying his cruelty and his avarice, by the ruin of the banished lords, and the forfeiture of their estates. But his fall in its turn approached. He had, with an uncommon want of policy, introduced to James the Master of Gray, a young man equal to the favorite in personal

* Spotswood, p. 333.

sonal accomplishments, equal to him in profligacy, and much his superior in decent hypocrisy. The childish favor of the king instantly attached itself to this new object ; and Arran, who had now recognized his own absurdity, could only delay his impending disgrace by dispatching this new minion on an embassy to England. There, too, the policy of the elder favorite failed. Elizabeth (who had condescended to bribe Arran, and who had found him ready to enter into the most traitorous engagements to betray the councils of his royal master to the English cabinet, and to prevent him from marrying during three years) saw, with a discerning eye, in the Master of Gray, an object more likely than the boisterous Stuart to retain James's settled affection, and equally ready to receive a bribe and to betray the confidence of his master. She with wonderful good policy strengthened his interest at the Scottish court, by permitting him to obtain the removal of the banished lords into the interior of England ; and sent him back to James, engaged and determined to serve her interest, in despite of gratitude, honor, and loyalty.

The transactions of 1584, in which the still unfortunate Mary was implicated, have been told in the English history, with which they are immediately connected.

A new revolution impended over the fragile state of James's ministry. Arran, who was now Lieutenant-General of Scotland, and held the

1585.
Profligacy of
Arran.

A.D. 1585. castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, had reached the summit of profligacy as well as of power, and was become so detested, that his vast authority hung by a single thread. The catalogue of his oppressions is odious, and too long for admission here. The Earl of Athol he imprisoned for refusing to divorce his wife, and to settle his lands on him; Lord Home, because he would not give up an estate which lay commodiously for the tyrant. Two of the Home family, and two other gentlemen of high credit, he sacrificed at the gallows to his private enmity, under false and trivial pretexts, unsupported by evidence.* Instruments to destroy such a minister (perhaps the most atrociously wicked that history has ever recorded) could not be wanting. Elizabeth, who abhorred Arran, formed the plot and directed the actors. She sent to the court of James as her ambassador the dextrous Wotton, who had been employed at the age of twenty to deceive the Constable de Montmorenci in France.† His gay and amusing conversation, and his singular skill in sporting, soon acquired the favor of the thoughtless king, although warned of his arts by the more experienced courtiers.‡ The Master of Gray, Sir Lewis Bellenden, the Justice Clerk, and Sir John Maitland, the secretary, each bought by Elizabeth, were employed gradually to weaken the affection of James towards Arran, whose

monstrous

* Spotswood, p. 337. + Melvill, p. 293.

‡ Melvill, p. 296.

monstrous vanity had now led him to intimate, ^{A.D. 1585.} that, in right of his pretended ancestor, Murdo, Duke of Albany, he had a claim to the Scottish crown prior to that of James himself.

Matters were well arranged for an explosion, when an incident hastened the catastrophe. Sir Francis Russel was slain in a border-quarrel; and, on Elizabeth's peremptory demand of satisfaction, the Scottish warden, Ker, of Fernihurst, and his patron Arran, were, on the persuasion of Gray and his associates, thrown into confinement.* At this crisis the exiled lords (whose mutual misfortunes had softened old feuds, and united in one enterprize the hostile stocks of Douglas and of Hamilton) advanced into Scotland. They were met by their numerous dependents in arms; the young king was surrounded in Stirling and taken, but treated with the highest respect; and the lords of 'the Raid of Ruthven,' the friends of Scotland's true interest, amity with England, once more became the directors of their monarch's conduct.

Warned by adversity, they acted with sense and moderation. The restitution of their own honors and lands contented their rational wishes; they aimed at no forfeitures, nor recalled the memory of past injuries. Colonel Stuart was silently dismissed; it was at the wretched Arran alone that

Return of
the ba-
nished
lords.

* Spotswood, p. 339.

A.D. 1585. they pointed the bolt of their vengeance; that
 may-gaine of fortune, stripped of his estates and
 titles, reduced to the denomination of Captain
 James Stuart, and proclaimed an enemy to his
 country, dropped quietly into that obscurity for
 which nature had intended him. Wotton, who
 presided over the whole affair, dared not stay to
 enjoy the storm which he had raised.* He had
 refined on his commission, and plotted other de-
 signs, [67] the discovery of which hastened his
 return to England. Before his departure he had
 proposed to James a strict league of friendship
 between the sister-realms, a measure highly ap-
 proved by the country in general as well as the
 king, whose good will to England was by no
 means diminished, on finding that Elizabeth
 meant to allow him a pension of 5000l. per
 annum; a considerable sum at that period, and
 exactly what she had herself received before she
 became the queen of England, a circumstance
 which she communicated to the needy prince.

The

NOTES.

[67] Wotton was suspected of plotting to carry off the king of Scots, in order to place him in the custody of the queen of England. He had also with great art circumvented a matrimonial engagement, which ambassadors from Denmark came to propose, by persuading the unobserving and haughty king, that they were people in business; and that Denmark, like Holland, was a country of merchants.

[ME VIII.]

* Melvill, p. 307.

The parliament, which was called on this occasion, confirmed every measure which the banished lords had proposed ; restored their estates ; and ratified their pardon. Every thing wore a tranquil appearance ; and a good-natured king, [68] after owning that ‘ he never did like the violence of Arran,’ * acquiesced in every reasonable measure, and of his own accord hastened the settlement of the popular alliance with Elizabeth. A.D. 1585.
Acquiescence of James.

The preachers alone, who had been driven from Scotland for their severe language against the measures of the court, thought themselves neglected, and spoke their minds freely ; [69] since the dread

of

NOTES.

[68] Arran had always plundered James’s ill-furnished treasury without stint ; and the king at length discovered that the ungrateful minion had carried away jewels worth 200,000 crowns. Huntley, who was sent to seize the robber, narrowly missed him ; but the terror of Arran prompted him to send back to the king the richest piece which he had stolen.

[SPOTISWOOD, &c.]

[69] ‘ Captain James and his wife Jezebel were taken hitherto,’ said a hot-headed priest in his pulpit, ‘ to be the persecutors of the church. It is now seen to be the king himself ; but, like Jeroboam, he shall die childless, and be the last of his race.’

It was on this occasion that the King of Scots uttered a sentiment which ought to be ever recorded to his honor. A courtier had advised him to leave the clergy to their own courses.

* Spotiswood, p. 342.

A.D. 1585. of disgusting the unsteady James had prevented the lords of the Raid¹ from taking an early opportunity of re-instating them in their charges.

1586. The melancholy detail of Babington's conspiracy, in which the unfortunate Mary's fate was fatally involved, has already been told in a former book. The mind of James was, at this time, ulcerated against a mother whom he had never known; and who (as it was the interest of each among his vast variety of successive ministers to keep them asunder) had generally been represented to him in an odious light, as an adulterous murtheress, leagued with his foes against him. He had even written to her a letter which, instead of dutiful expressions, contained bitter taunts; and she, in return, had threatened him with her curse, and with a transfer of her rights to a potent heir, (probably Philip of Spain) who would revenge her cause on an ungrateful and disobedient child.*

It was, perhaps, this dissension which made James so little attentive to his mother's safety, as to send as an envoy to the court of Elizabeth† Archibald

NOTES.

courses. ‘They will become,’ said he, ‘so odious, that the people will rise and chase them out of the country.’ ‘True,’ said the good-natured prince, ‘and if I meant to undo the church and religion, your counsel were good; but as I mean to preserve both, for their own sakes I shall take some pains to reform them.’

[SPOTISWOOD.]

* Mackenzie, vol. iii. p. 346.

† Spotiswood, p. 348.

chibald Douglas, one who had been employed in ^{A.D. 1586.}
 the murther of King Henry, and was the bitterest
 foe that Mary ever knew. Nor did the Master
 of Gray, who succeeded him in the embassy, shew ^{1587.}
 a better will towards her security: on the other
 hand, he is supposed to have hastened her fate
 by strongly intimating to Elizabeth the apathy of
 her prejudiced, poor, and greedy son.* The crisis
 was so extremely delicate, and the situation of the
 English queen so very dangerous, that had she
 expected real and settled resentment [70] in James
 for

NOTES.

[70] There are letters in Murden's state papers which prove that James was somewhat affected when he found that his mother's death was resolved on. 'His opinion,' says Gray to Douglas, 'is, that it cannot stand with his honor that he be a conserver to take his mother's life; but he is content how strictly she be kept, and all her old knavish servants hanged; chiefly they who be in bands.' Some time after, when the Scottish ambassadors proposed to Elizabeth that Mary should be spared on making over all her claims to her son James; 'Is it so?' said the peevish queen. 'Then I put myself in worse case than before; by God's passion! that were to cut my own throat.'

James himself states his own reasons for acquiescence to have been, '1. His tender youth, not trained up to arms. 2. His excessive povertie, which made him live from hand to hand, from neydie to neydie, to greedie and greedie.'

[STRYPE.
A letter

* Spotiswood, p. 352.

A.D. 1587. for the death of his mother, she would have found it convenient to have spared her.

But as she knew that the king was surrounded by persons in her pay, that he was himself her pensioner, and that the interest of his kingdom and the voices of his subjects united in favor of perpetual peace with England, she ventured to strike that stroke, which, although we may forgive it to the *queen*, makes us survey the *woman* with horror.

Death of Mary.

At hearing of his mother's execution, James breathed nothing but war with England, and appeared to listen with pleasure to the suggestions of the noblemen who represented to him the indelible disgrace of passing by such an insult unrevenged. But cooler consideration, an unanswerable letter drawn up by Walsingham, and the advice of the English envoy, bringing to his mind the certain loss of his pension, and the probable failure of his hopes of succeeding to the English crown, he

James pa- accepted the excuses of Elizabeth, laid the blame, cified. as she wished, on the secretary Davison, and be-
came

NOTES.

A letter is existing from the needy monarch, of this date, begging for the loan of 1000 marks, or 54l. 3s. 4d. from John Boswell of Balmonto, and pressing his request thus strongly upon him: ‘ Ye will rather hurt yourself very far than see the dishounour of your prince and native country, with the povertie of baith set downe before the face of strangers.’

[PENNANT.]

came as much as ever the creature of the English cabinet. To this the politic generosity of the English queen greatly contributed, by sending him frequent presents of hounds, horses, and books written on those subjects which he most delighted in.

The Master of Gray, whose interest with the king had much declined, was now accused by Sir Robert Stuart,* the brother of Arran, of having advised and contrived the death of Mary, and of being a bigoted Papist, and keeping up a correspondence with Rome. His defence was trivial, and his life would have paid the forfeit of his duplicity, had not the gratitude of the late exiles protected him. He was permitted to sink gently down from power and affluence, to disgrace and banishment. An attack of a similar kind, made by Captain James Stuart (the late Arran) on the secretary, Sir John Maitland, did not succeed; and his innocence was illustrated, by the king's bestowing on him the Chancellorship of Scotland.

James had now attained to the age of twenty-one, and shewed as much eagerness to wed a Danish princess, as Elizabeth did zeal to prevent him. Denmark had always a close connection with Scotland, and the embassy in 1585 had been intended by the Danish monarch rather to bring about a matrimonial alliance than to demand the

Proposes
to marry.

Orkney

* Spotswood, p. 364.

A.D. 1587. Orkney islands, which was the ostensible motive. The death of King Frederic, which happened about this time, was indeed the only circumstance which prevented the projected marriage taking place almost immediately.*

A festival of pacification, which the peace-loving king celebrated on his coming of age, did him real honor. After taking great pains to settle the contentions which had grown to deadly feuds, and had made many of the noblest houses foes to each other, he found means to form at least a temporary reconciliation. After witnessing this happy event, and confirming it by a splendid entertainment at Holyrood house, he conducted the parties in solemn procession, each holding the hand of his personal enemy, through the streets of Edinburgh to the Market Cross ; where they found a collation of wine and sweetmeats. They drank to each other, and departed in apparent, but unhappily not durable, friendship.

Reform of Parliament. James, who had penetration enough to admire the constitution of England, now made an important step towards bringing his own parliament to resemble that of his neighbor-country, and by reviving an act procured by the first James in 1427, but disregarded, as all that wise prince's regulations were, he brought the lesser barons to appoint two commissioners for each shire, to represent them,

* Spotswood, p. 366.

them. The noblemen were shocked at this innovation, which they foresaw would gradually annihilate their illegal power. Lord Crawfurd loudly opposed it, and* (says Archbishop Spotswood) ‘the noblemen did work him (the king) great business in all the ensuing parliaments.’ They could not, however, prevent the regulation, since James might have overpowered them by summoning the tenants of the crown to vote.

The year 1588, although a very busy period in England, produced few incidents in the realm of James, but gave him a fair opportunity of displaying his discernment and honor. Convinced of the pernicious consequences of Philip’s enter-
prise, should it succeed, he acted a firm and manly part ; he imprisoned the envoy from the Netherlands, Colonel Sempill, on finding him to be a treacherous subject of his own. He listened not to the counsel of a second turbulent Bothwell, (Francis Stuart, a grandson of James V.) who had already raised men to invade[†] England ; he discourag-
ed the Popish priests, particularly the Jesuits, who swarmed in his realm, and banished some of them ; he rejected every proposal from Philip ; and, by a sudden and spirited march dispersed the follow-
ers of the Lord Maxwell ; who were arrayed in readiness to join the Spanish forces, had they landed in the North. As Maxwell was closely connected

1588.

Spirited
conduct of
James.

* Spotswood, p. 366.

+ Ibid. p. 370.

A.D. 1588. nected with the powerful lords Huntley, [71] Errol, and Crawford, (who were all zealous Roman Catholics, and who abhorred the league with Elizabeth, and wished to provoke a war) this exertion was of the utmost consequence to the peace of the country, and to the welfare of England. Yet so little were the laws respected, and so weak was the government of Scotland, that Sir William Stuart, who was remarkably active on this expedition, was, with impunity, pierced through the heart by the sword of the impetuous Earl of Bothwell, almost in the king's presence.

Not contented with these efforts, the friendly monarch wrote to Elizabeth to assure her that he had an army at her devotion; while she, sensible of the value attached to such a friend, thanked him affectionately, and made him great and splendid promises; among these are to be numbered an English dukedom, and a guard for his person, maintained by the queen.

Covenant first framed. It was upon this occasion first that a Covenant (a name afterwards used for a very different species of

NOTES.

[71] Huntley protested his innocence as to the intention of evil, and James received his excuses and made him captain of his guard; but his violence of temper and bigotry soon drove him again into rebellion. Yet a Scottish writer most strangely paints him as a mild, peaceable man. ‘*Huntlaus, homo minimè ambitious, minimè turbidus, sed ad quietem proclivis.*’

[JOHNSTON.]

of association) was brought forward. It was a spirited resolution to defend the religion, the king, and the laws, and was signed by people in every rank and station.*

In this year died the Earl of Angus, a nobleman of known bravery, great abilities, and of an amiable and respectable character; but one who had suffered the extremes of fortune, and lived half his years in exile; by the steady friendship of Elizabeth, however, he spent his latter days in peace on his own estate. His death is introduced in this place as a proof of the blind superstition of the age. He died (says a venerable author) ‘of ^{Instance} sorcery and incantation.’ A wizard, after the ^{of credulity.} physicians had pronounced him to be under the power of witchcraft, ‘made offer to cure him, saying (as the manner of these wizards is) “that he had received wrong.” But the stout and pious Earl declared, “That his life was not so dear unto him, as that, for the continuance of some years, he would be beholden to any of the devil’s instruments,” and died.’

Before the close of 1588, the total dispersion of Philip’s enormous fleet delivered[72] Elizabeth from

NOTES.

[72] The defeat of the Armada gave the Scots an opportunity of shewing, in one instance, an exertion of spirit, in another of humanity.

* Dunlop’s Collection, vol. ii. p. 108.

A.D. 1588. from her fears of invasion. She wrote a grateful letter to the King of Scots; but though she praised his fidelity, she was not forward to reward it.*

1589. Disappointed by the discomfiture of his Armada, in his views on England, the artful Philip thought to find an easier way into the realm, by engaging Scotland in his interest, and invading Elizabeth's territories from the borders. The Roman Catholic lords were eager to serve him, and Bothwell, merely from turbulence of disposition, joined the party. It was settled among them, that Maitland the chancellor, the friend of England and of the Reformation, was first to be made away with; and he very narrowly escaped assassination† even in the king's presence, where he was surrounded by Huntley,

Popish
lords
revolt.

NOTES.

Off Mull, one of the Hebrides, the Florida, a Spanish carrack, was blown up, as tradition says, by the desperate resolution of a Scot. Many attempts have since been made to recover the lost treasure, as the exact spot is known. A Mr. Sacheverel is said to have had great success in this pursuit, by means of diving bells, in 1688. [PENNANT.]

Seven hundred naked wretches escaping from the wrecks of several ships were humanely fed and clothed at Edinburgh. They were then embarked for Spain. Ill fortune still pursued them, and they were forced by stress of weather into Yarmouth, where the general detestation had nearly proved fatal to them. Their misery, however, heightened by famine, sickness, and despair, saved their lives and liberty, and a remnant of them at length reached Spain.

[STOW. STRYPE.]

* Camden, p. 548.

+ Spotiswood, p. 374.

Huntley, with a band of assassins.* The very slight notice which the pacific James took of this conspiracy emboldened the actors; and after suffering a slight confinement, they fled each to their estates, where they raised armed men, and in a short time took the field with 3000 soldiers. The king, irritated at their ferocious ingratitude, pursued them gallantly; but having less troops by one third than the rebels, he might have suffered in the contest had their men been hearty in the cause. The speech which he made to his little army would have done honor to an Elizabeth. ‘If benefits or good deeds could have made these men loyal,’ said the irritated prince, ‘I have been sparing of neither.’^{Gallant conduct of James.} They have drawn me into the field against my will, and I trust that you will not forsake me. I shall desire you to stand no longer than you see me at your head. I think they will not dare to fight me; but let us order things as if they meant to make a powerful stand against us.’

It fell out as James had prophesied. The army dispersed, and the chiefs surrendered themselves to the royal mercy. They acted wisely. No provocation from the Pope, no reproaches from Elizabeth, no gross abuse from his own clergy, could make the King of Scots act with severity against the Roman Catholics. He caused, indeed, the lords to be tried, but he adjourned the passing of the

* MS apud Guthrie.

+ Spotswood, p. 375.

A.D. 1589. the sentence; and they all, after suffering a very moderate term of imprisonment, were delivered from bondage, and joined in the festivities of the royal marriage.

That important [73] event approached in spite of Elizabeth's intrigues to prevent it. She had made the King of Denmark think that James was not in earnest, and he had given his eldest daughter to the Duke of Brunswick; yet Anne, a younger, still remained, and to her the royal addresses were transferred. The English Queen had tempted James with the Princess Catharine of Bourbon,* sister to Henry IV. but in vain, for he was constant; she had engaged all the Scottish council to oppose the match; this too was fruitless; James with astonishing presence of mind and contrivance, found means to incite the populace of Edinburgh to rise and threaten destruction to the cabinet ministers, if they did not send for the princess Anne. In consequence of this sedition, the Earl Marischal sailed with a fleet of ships of war to convoy the fair Dane; but a storm having driven her into a

Norwegian

NOTES.

[73] James had good reasons to think of marriage. He was the last person by whom England and Scotland could be united. Should he be childless, that union could not take place. Arran, the next heir to the Scottish crown, was a lunatic, and a disputed succession might involve the nation in a civil-war.

* Melvill, p. 322.

Norwegian port, the active and spirited James A.D. 1589-
sprung into a vessel, and setting storms and all the James
powers of the air [74] at defiance, crossed the sails to
German Denmark and marries.

NOTES. .

[74] That the wary Elizabeth should endeavor to frustrate the matrimonial plans of James, we cannot wonder. She hated and envied all that married; she dreaded, too, lest a sensible wife might open his eyes to the corruption which enslaved his ministers; but why the powers of the air should be leagued against his marriage is by no means so clear; yet we find that with such intent, Agnis Tompson, (as she confessed before the king and council) with other witches to the number of 200, ‘went altogether by sea, each one in her riddle, (or sieve) with flaggons of wine, making merry and drinking by the way, to the kirk of North Berwick in Lothian, where, when they had landed, they took hands and danced, singing all with one voice,

‘Commer* go ye before, commer goe yè,
‘Gif ye will not go before, commer let me.’

‘That Geilis Duncane did go before them playing said reel on a Jew’s trump.+ That the devil met them there; here the discerning monarch shewing symptoms of doubt, Agnis taking him a little aside, ‘declared unto him the very words which had passed between him and his queen on the first night of their marriage, with their answer each to other; whereat the king wondered greatly, and swore by the living God that he believed all the Devils in Hell could not have discovered the same.’ Agnis then proceeded with the account of the solemn christening of a cat, ‘which cat, said Agnis confessed,

* Gossip.

+ On this James sent for Geilis Duncane, who upon the like trump did play the said dance before the king’s majesty,’ &c.

A.D. 1589. German ocean,* completed his marriage, [75] and spent his winter on the Baltic shore in convivial amusement ; the court of Denmark magnificently supplying his expences.

Applause due to James. And here it is apposite to remark, that were a historian to judge of James's character from his achievements in 1589, he would paint him faithful, brave, active in war, and humane in peace ; steady, politic, and regardless of dangers by sea or land, when a point of importance was at stake.

1590. The next year, 1590, presents no event in the **Coronation of Anne.** Scottish history worth recording, except the safe return of the king and queen from Denmark, and the singularity of her coronation being performed by a Presbyterian minister and not by a bishop.

A dispute

NOTES.

confessed, ‘was the cause that the king’s ship coming from Denmark had a contrary wind ;’ and the king standing by, did acknowledge that, ‘when the rest of the ships had a fair and good wind, then was the wind contrary and altogether against his majesty.’ And said witch declared, ‘that his majesty had never come safely from the sea, if his faith had not prevailed against their intentions.’ A great deal more such nonsense, much of inhumanity and some ludicrous stories intermixed, may be found in a scarce pamphlet, called ‘Newes from Scotland,’ &c. &c. from which many extracts are taken in the 49th volume of the Gentleman’s Magazine.

[75] The first interview between James and Anne is minutely described by Moyses, who seems to have been an attendant of the court ; the royal lover’s approach to the fair bride was free, even to boisterousness. She repressed his indelicacy with decent rigor, but soon forgave the offence.

* Melvill, p. 331.

A dispute concerning unction had nearly stopped the ceremony: it was at length agreed 'not to be a mere Jewish rite,' and was administered by Mr. Robert Bruce, in the Abbey-church of Holy-rood house.*

The hospitality which James had found in Denmark was now to be returned; but the means were wanting, since there never lived a poorer prince than the son of Mary of Scots; luckily Elizabeth, who wished to keep him in temper, indulged him with a considerable donation; and a loan among his richest lords completed the sum wanted for reciprocal festivity.

The ease and placability of James's temper in a ruler was fatal to good government, although it might have been amiable in private life. For many years the criminal code had been little respected in Scotland, and each man when able had thought himself justified in taking the law into his own hands. The Scottish nobility were formed into parties, and supported each in murther and rapine. Bothwell was the most notorious among this turbulent race, and the absurd credulity of the age had added sorcery to his other evil qualifications. Unfortunately for him, Agnis Tompson, styled 'The wise Wife of Keith,' 'a woman'† (says Archbishop Spotiswood) 'not of the base and ignorant sort of witches, but matron-like, grave, and settled in her answers, which were all

* Spotiswood, p. 332.

+ Ibid. p. 333.

A. D. 1591. to some purpose,' had confessed that he had united with her in magical enquiries; witchcraft was, indeed, the only charge which met with attention from the unsuspecting eye of James; and while assassinations were perpetrated with impunity, and property was unguarded and plundered, all commerce with Satan was so strictly watched, that many persons not quite in the inferior ranks of life were confined, tortured, and even put to death, for this fancied enormity. Accused* of employing witchcraft in obstructing the king's voyages, and in searching into his fortune and the time of his death, Bothwell lost every shadow of favor with his royal master, and became an object of horror to his sight. He was committed to prison, but broke out; and gaining, by favor of the young Duke of Lenox, a secret passage to the inner court of Holyrood-House, he encouraged his followers to assault the palace; the king fled for safety to a tower which had some strength; and Sandilands, an attendant, giving the alarm, and the citizens of Edinburgh, rouzed by the danger of their inoffensive king, assembling, and surrounding the palace, the Catiline of Scotland (as the profligate and fierce Bothwell was generally styled) found great difficulty to escape; and owed his safety only to the uncommon darkness of the night.

Witchcraft alone, persecuted.

Temerity of Bothwell.

It

* Spotswood, p. 384.

It was some time after this, that Captain Stuart, ^{A.D. 1591.} late Earl of Arran, was assassinated, without making the least resistance, by a Douglas; in revenge for the death of the regent Morton. [76]

The character of queen Anne began now to unfold itself, and by no means to her advantage. ^{Character of Anne of Denmark.} She appears to have been a busy, insolent, vindictive woman, artful to an extreme, connected with the court and principles of Rome, proud of her person, and not totally inattentive to those who admired it.

To this last propensity the ‘bonny’ or handsome Earl of Murray (as he was styled) owed an untimely end. He had been suspected of accompanying Bothwell in his last illegal enterprize; and the king, who, as has been intimated, thought that he meant to injure him in a tender point, [77] commissioned

NOTES.

[76] The remark of Sir James Melvill on this murther points out the wretchedness of a country where penalties sleep, unless exacted by private revenge. ‘Little diligence was made to revenge the same, many thinking it strange that he was permitted so long to live, &c. &c. &c.’ [MEMOIRS.]

‘What is the name of this field?’ said the superstitious and cowardly ruffian, when he found himself pursued by the vengeful Douglas. Being told the name, ‘Alas!’ exclaimed he, ‘I thought so; I wish I could get over it,’ referring, probably, to some fanatical presage. [SPOTISWOOD.]

[77] In the elegant collection called ‘Reliques of Ancient Poetry,’ we find the following observations: ‘In a popular

A.D. 1592. commissioned the Earl of Huntley, his inveterate foe, to bring him to justice. Huntley executed his commission in a manner which he supposed was intended. He surrounded the house * and set fire to it; some of Murray's followers were burnt, some yielded. The Earl endeavoring to escape in a boat was overtaken by a determined assassin, **Murther of Murray,** Gordon of Buckie, who wounding him desperately in the visage, he had just strength to say, with a last effort of vanity, ‘ ye have spoilt a better face than your own,’ and expired.

Another plot of Bothwell, and another conspiracy of the Popish Lords, encouraged by Spain, but ill-concerted, and broken in pieces by the sagacity of Maitland and Sir Robert Melvill, filled

up

NOTES.

pular ballad made on this tragical event, after the person, &c. of the murthered nobleman had been highly praised, it is farther added,

‘ He was a brave gallant,
And he played at the gluze,
And the bonny Earl of Murray
He was the queen’s luve.’

‘ A descendent of this earl has in his possession a picture of the body naked, and covered with wounds, which had probably been carried about to inflame the populace. He appears by that to have been a very handsome man.’

‘ Gordon, of Buckie, forced Huntley, with his dagger at his breast, to wound the poor defenceless body, saying “ you shall be as deep as I.”

* Spotswood, p. 387, 388.

up the remainder of 1592, except certain trans- ^{A.D. 1592.}
actions in the church-government, which will
appear in another place.

The turbulence of the northern Roman Catholics being suppressed, James found it difficult to screen them, as his system of moderation prompted him, from punishment; nor could he save Graham of Fintry, one of their confederates, from an ignominious death. Lord Burgh, too, was sent by Elizabeth to urge him to make some sacrifice to offended justice; and the pulpits resounded with declamations against the modern Saul who spared the devoted Agag. But the English ambassador weakened his own cause, by supplicating at the same time for the pardon of Bothwell. That artful, though impetuous traitor, had now ranged himself under the English banner, and Elizabeth knew his value too well to hesitate on shielding so apt a fire-brand, from extinction.*

Bothwell had another protectress, Anne of Denmark. She had favored him ever since his attempt to murther the secretary Maitland, whom she hated; and never ceased supplicating James for the pardon of the one, and the dismission of the other. She prevailed in part, and Maitland was displaced; but the king, conscious of having lost in him his ablest counsellor, meant to recall him. He was prevented from executing this design by Bothwell,

* Spotswood, p. 393.

A.D. 1593.
 Daring enter-
 prize of
 Bothwell.

Bothwell, who, with Lenox and others, having by the connivance of Queen Anne seized the gates of James's palace, surprized him, and on his knees requested a pardon, which he could now command. The king's resentment was raised to the highest pitch by this insolent enterprize; it overpowered his natural timidity, and he told Bothwell to kill him on the spot rather than prolong such a disgraceful scene.* He consented, however, to his demands, but on condition that the earl (whom he actually dreaded more as a magician than a conspirator) should not appear in his sight unless commanded.

The good fortune of the profligate and daring Bothwell lasted not long; James soon shook off his fetters, and by aid of a parliament recovered his independency; and his persecutor, after a new but fruitless endeavor once more to seize the person of the king, lost his courage, and fled to the English border,

Popish
earls for-
given.

At this period, the three Popish earls threw themselves at the king's feet and sued for pardon; nor would the placable James have refused it, but he dreaded his stern ally, and he dreaded his parliament. He managed the latter, however, with so much art, that the lords were forgiven under condition of becoming Protestants, or retiring to Spain.

Ia

* Spotswood, p. 393.

In 1594, the Scottish history affords no incidents, except a repetition of troubles raised by the three Roman Catholic earls, and Elizabeth's earnestness to have them driven from Scotland. She sent a new ambassador, the Lord Zouch, to hasten this important business; but that nobleman gave great and just offence by treating, not only with the king, but with his mal-content subjects, and with his petulant priests. At length the fickle Bothwell having quitted the interest and protection of Elizabeth, and united with the Popish lords, Argyle, a gallant but young and inexperienced nobleman, marched against them with a superior force and fought them at Glenlivat: unluckily his Highlanders, startled at the appearance of the revolters' train of artillery and cavalry, broke and fled; while their boy-commander, (for he had scarcely seen eighteen years) raving at the cowardice of his soldiers, and crying * out for death rather than dishonor, was forcibly carried from the field by his friends and servants. Alarmed at this unhappy defeat, the king marched at the head of a few troops (to raise which he had been forced to pawn his jewels) to the place of action; his appearance changed the scene; the soldiers of the earls would not fight against their king; and the royalists having subdued all the country belonging to the three lords, those violent spirits at length

A.D. 1594.

They take

arms

again.

And de-
feat Ar-
gyle.But at
length

are forced

to fly.

length

* Spotiswood, p. 409.

A.D. 1594. length agreed to quit the realm, and give no more disturbance to the well-affected.* The birth of a son, named Henry, at this crisis, gave great addition to the weight of the Scottish king in the courts of Europe, and particularly in that of Elizabeth, whose opinion of James's fidelity as to his transactions with the Popish earls had been so low, that she had for some time past refused him any pecuniary aid; she now sent the Earl of Sussex [77] to the prince's baptism with magnificent gifts; and every prince of Europe (except Henry IV. of France, who owned himself too poor) followed her example.+

1595. As the turbulent Bothwell had accompanied the Popish earls in their exile, there seemed reason to

NOTES.

[77] The presents from the states of Europe were magnificent. Elizabeth sent 'a faire cupboard of silver, over-gilt, cunningly wrought, and some cups of massy gold.' The Dutch sent two cups of massy gold and a parchment, binding themselves to pay five thousand pounds per annum to the prince. It was the greedy poverty of James which had incited him to send ambassadors all over the Continent to announce the baptism of the prince. He expected presents like these, and he soon found uses for them. 'I leave it to others,' says Melvill with sensibility, 'to set down the weight and value; but I say these which were of gold, and should have been kept in store to posterity, were soon melted and disposed of. But if they had been preserved, as they ought to have been, those who advised to break them would have wanted their part.'

* Calderwood, p. 373.

+ Spotswood, p. 407.

to hope that tranquillity might for some time A.D. 1595,
 flourish in Scotland, but there were still many ob- Anarchy
 stacles. The feuds among private persons had in Scot-
 been suffered to reign with impunity so long, that land.
 they raged beyond the power of a sceptre like
 that of James to restrain. The Highlands and the
 Western Isles afforded repeated scenes of delibe-
 rate barbarity; in these remote districts, family
 animosities raged beyond the comprehensions of
 civilized people; [78] and as the protecting arm
 of government was indolent and palsied, each man
 of power avenged his real or fancied wrongs by
 his own strength, and according to his own ideas
 of

NOTES.

[78] Instances are much too frequent of such horrors, the following is well attested: In or about 1595, the M'Gregors having defeated the Colquhouns of Dumbartonshire, at Glenfrone, pursued their laird, Humphry Colquhoun, to his castle, and having made themselves masters of it, they put him to death with circumstances of uncommon cruelty. A number of young noblemen and gentlemen of different families who were at Dumbarton-school, had thronged to see the fight at Glenfrone, but the Colquhouns, to prevent their being ill treated, shut them up in a barn, and prevented their coming to the field. Nevertheless, the M'Gregors after their victory set fire to their asylum, and burnt them all together.

[ACTS OF COUNCIL, &c. APUD PENNANT.]

The very name of the sanguinary race was abolished by law in consequence of this atrocious deed. Towards the close of the 18th century the appellation was by act of parliament permitted to be resumed, ‘as the causes for suppressing it are now little known, or have ceased.’ [PUB. ACTS.]

A.D. 1595. of justice. On the borders matters were, if possible, in a worse state. The Maxwells and the Johnstones had long carried on an uninterrupted and sanguinary civil war, and the treatment which the peaceable inhabitants received from the roving, unprincipled warriors on each side, forms a story unprecedented in the annals of a civilized country. [79]

Schemes
of Anne
of Den-
mark.

The subtle and dangerous machinations of Queen Anne were also the source of great uneasiness to her consort, who, indolent and peaceable as he was, frequently

NOTES.

[79] Strange it as must appear it is nevertheless true, that before the junction of the two crowns on the head of James, England had never enjoyed the advantages of her insular situation. The barbarous tenants of the borders, had, ever since the departure of the Romans, kept that part of the island in a state of civil war; and had produced a race of monsters scarce to be paralleled in modern history. Geordie Bourne, one of them, and not a man of *uncommon* villainy, confessed, before his execution, ‘that he had violated forty men’s wives, and had cruelly, in cold blood, murthered seven Englishmen.’

[CARY’S MEMOIRS.]

Other instances of profligate ferocity in abundance may be found in the Border History, in Burn’s Northumberland, &c.

The following names belonged to some of those worst of borderers, called Moss-troopers: Tom Trotter of the Hill, Goodman Dickson, Ralph Burn of the Coit, George Hall, called Pat’s Geordie, The Lairds Jok, Wanton Sym, Will of Powder-lampat, Arthur Fire-the-braes, Gray Will, Will the Lord, Richie Graham the Plump, Priors John and his Bairnes, Hector of the Harlaw, The Grieves and Cuts of the Harlaw, &c. &c.

frequently found himself obliged by her intrigues ^{A.D.1595.} to make unpleasant exertions.

The custody of the Prince-royal of Scots was by hereditary custom the right of the house of Erskine, and the Lord Mar had the infant now under his care. As the queen, who wanted not discernment, clearly saw the great increase of power of which such a charge in an ill-settled government must confer on the person trusted, she at once dropped her hatred to the secretary Maitland, and condescended to plot with him the means of gaining possession of the important child. But James having discovered her design, severely* reprimanded her, and gave such warning to Mar, as placed the prince totally beyond the danger of a surprize. He then visited Maitland, who was much indisposed, and represented the impropriety of his conduct in so strong a light, that the days of that long-trusted and high-spirited minister are supposed to have been much shortened by his feelings on the occasion. The good-natured monarch was deeply concerned at the effect of his anger, and honored his deceased favorite with an epitaph.[80]+

The taste for expensive amusements which both the king and queen possessed, and perpetually gratified, obliged the thoughtless James, in spite of his

NOTES.

[80] See the Appendix.

* Spotswood, p. 411.

+ Ibid p. 412.

A.D. 1596. his indolent turn, to devise some way of increasing his finances, especially as he found that he could not entirely rely on Elizabeth for money when suddenly needed; that discerning princess expecting a consistency and fidelity in her pensioner, qualities in which the unsteady disposition of James too frequently failed. Eight men of the law (styled from their number Octavians*) were therefore supplied with ample powers to regulate the Scottish finances, and restore order to the confused accounts of the treasury. It does not, however, appear that any immediate advantage resulted to the king's coffers from this experiment. The Octavians, who despaired of clearing up the accounts, confused as they found them, contented themselves with obliging the peculators to compound, and repay a part of their gains. The public accused these ministers of converting the fines to their own use, and the divines preached against them as Papists, but they nevertheless retained their stations; and, allowing for the shortness of their reign, considerably improved the fiscal department of Scotland.

Dange-
rous tu-
mult at
Edin-
burgh.

It was not long after this appointment ere the timid and irresolute character of James, and the extreme violence of his clergy, caused a disturbance of a dangerous kind. The Popish earls, the unceasing sources of Scottish discord, once more moved

* Melvill, p. 348.

moved every engine to gain admittance again to A.D. 1596.
their country[81] and estates ; nor was James
averse to their request, since he found that his late
exertion of spirit against the Northern rebels had
terrified the Roman Catholics both in England and
Scotland, and had indisposed many to his domi-
nion. But on his hinting his design, the clergy of
Edinburgh took fire[82] and communicated the
flames of their resentment to the citizens.* The
preachers, with a furious demagogue, named Black,
at their head (who had denounced Elizabeth as
an atheist) raved from their pulpits against their
reprobate king ; the magistrates of the capital
shut their ears to the disloyal acclamations which
resounded through the streets ; while many citi-
zens, with the Lord Lindsay and other hot-head-
ed fanatics, surrounded James in the sessions-
house, and, by behavior which deserved a worse
name than disrespectful, forced him for his safe-
ty to quit the city. He retired from the disloyal
metropolis

NOTES.

[81] Two of the earls lurked in Scotland, the third (Errol) was seized in the low Countries, betrayed by his singularly fine person and lofty stature.

[ANON APUD GUTHRIE.]

[82] When James endeavored to soften Robert Bruce, one
the most moderate, ‘ I see,’ said the haughty priest, ‘ that ye
wish to have Huntley back. Ye cannot have him and me.
Look that ye take your choice.’ [SPOTISWOOD, &c.]

* Birch’s Memoirs of Eliz. vol. ii. p. 230, 250.

A.D. 1596. metropolis to Linlithgow; and there, with uncommon intrepidity, planned cool and decisive measures against those who, as he properly expressed it, had reduced him to be ‘the cypher of a king.’

Carlisle surpriz-
ed.

In the mean while the spirited action of a chief on the borders had almost caused a fatal rupture. Scot of Buccleugh, one of the most active of the partisans on the Marches, had received an unwarrantable affront from the English warden, who, in despite of that custom which had rendered the place of conference an asylum to all criminals, had carried off one Armstrong, a celebrated plunderer, prisoner to Carlisle. The irritated Scot followed him with 200 men, surprized the castle of Carlisle, rescued the captive, and returned home without spilling a drop of blood. Elizabeth stormed on hearing the tale, and the pacific James condescended to let the gallant Scot attend her court, and defend his own cause before her in person. He did so, and the not ungenerous queen sent him back with an honorable acknowledgment of his innocence.

1597.
Resolute
conduct
of James.

The reflections of James, after his retreat from Edinburgh, appear to have inspired him with a determination to seize this fortunate opportunity, and rescue the crown from the extreme subordination into which the church had gradually reduced it. No sentiment had indeed been too treasonable for the favorite preachers to promulgate from their pulpit, nor for their pupils in politics to defend by rioting

rioting and the sword. Welch, a noted declaimer, had delivered the king over to perdition as a person possessed by Beelzebub; he had urged the legality of wresting the sword from his polluted hand; and, although the house of Hamilton had refused to head the mal-contents, yet Lord Lindsay, Lord Forbes, and others, having been asked by the king, ‘ How they could dare to dispute his proclamation?’ answered, ‘ That they dared do that and more to preserve their religion unsullied by Popery.’*

The first step of the justly irritated king was to give an order to the magistrates of Edinburgh to arrest the most insolent of the preachers; and at the same time all the well affected were ordered to withdraw from the disloyal capital. He then assembled a convention, and laying before the members what provocations he had received, easily succeeded not only in causing the late disturbances to be styled treason, but in procuring such ordinances as might re-instate the civil power in its rights. By these, all ministers of the church were ordered to subscribe a declaration of obedience to the royal authority; magistrates might seize and imprison seditious preachers; no ecclesiastical court of judicature might meet unless by the king’s direction; and, lastly, an alteration was made

* Spotswood, p. 429.

A.D. 1597. made in the mode of electing the magistrates of Edinburgh, which took the power from the popular party, and subjected the whole to the probation of the sovereign.*

The metropolis corrected. This firm and prudent conduct of the king completely humbled the violent ecclesiastics and their hot-headed hearers ; the magistrates, being told that their offices were forfeited by their passive indulgence of treason, threw themselves at the feet of James, professing unlimited obedience for the future ; while the seditious preachers, timid in deed as loud in declamation, fled to the borders, and left their pulpits to resound with the doctrines of more loyal declaimers. So much did the conscious inhabitants of Edinburgh dread the penalties which might be levied on their heads for their indefensible conduct, that they thought themselves happy when the natural moderation of James, supported by the earnest recommendations of Elizabeth, procured them forgiveness on the mild conditions above-mentioned and the payment of a considerable fine. The pardon of the three Popish earls naturally followed these events, but they were first obliged to make some concessions to the church, and to find enormous bail for their good behavior.

The Octavians retire.

At this juncture the Octavians, finding themselves hated by the people, neglected by James, who

* Spotswood, p. 434, &c.

who thought little but of church government, A.D. 1597.
and teased by Queen Anne for money which the treasury could not supply, abandoned their new vocation, and left the finances to regain that state of confusion from which the best authors think they were, under their management, in a train to be rescued.*

An event of a romantic cast closed the trans-Enter-
actions of 1597. There lies on the western coast prize of
of Scotland, at some distance from the land, a Barclay.
vast rock named Aylsa, with the remains of a fortress on its side, but no inhabitants. To this solitary asylum Barclay of Ladyland, a proscribed partizan of Spain and of the popish earls, led a ferocious band of armed out-laws; with these he silently abode in the hospitable ruin, and waited there unheeded some weeks for the promised help from Philip, who was ever ready to support the rebel, or encourage the assassin. While Barclay was one day cautiously treading the shore, and eagerly looking out for the sails of Spain, he was alarmed by the sight of a stranger just landed from the main land; and although he saw no armed force in his company, his courage gave immediate way to despair; he rushed headlong into the sea and was drowned. His party, abandoned by their leader, surrendered without resistance,

A.D. 1597. and the earls were deprived of every chance except that of submission.*

Witches persecut-ed. It ought not to be forgotten, that the annals of Scotland were disgraced in 1597 by a violent procedure against witches.[83] So many, indeed, were discovered, that their persecutors were astonished, remitted the penalty to some, and prevented any farther executions unless after confession.

1598. No particular events in Scottish history distinguished the next year, except the birth of the Princess Elizabeth, (on which occasion the Earls of Hamilton and Huntley, having assisted as witnesses, were made marquisses) and the arrival of the queen's brother from Holstein at the court of James. The entertainment of this prince, and the baptismal ceremonies of the infant, were far of Poverty of James. more costly than the purse of the thoughtless king could support, although his pension had been enlarged by Elizabeth. It was therefore found necessary

NOTES.

[83] Margaret Atkin undertook to discover witches by their eyes. She met with ready belief; and at Glasgow, through the credulous folly of John Cowper the minister, many suffered death on her evidence. At length, being narrowly watched, she was found out to be an impostor, and to say different things of the same person when brought to her more than once. She was brought to a trial, confessed her complicated villainy, and was executed.

[SPOTISWOOD.]

* Spotiswood, p. 447.

cessary to create a new board of sixteen members, ^{A.D. 1598.} to regulate the royal income, and to raise a considerable impost on the people to support the expence of sending and receiving embassies. The want of a strong government [84] was still severely felt in every remote district, where murther, instigated by private feuds, stalked abroad with impunity.

As the Queen of England now visibly declin- ^{1599.}
ed in health and spirits, [85] James took the ec- <sup>Singular
embas-
centric sies.</sup>

NOTES.

[84] In 1598 was fought one of the last battles among the Scottish clans. Sir Laughlan Maclean of Mull invaded Ilay with 1500 men, intending to deprive his nephew, the Lord of the Isles, of that patrimony. A witch, the oracle of Mull, had given him three counsels, each of which he was obliged to counteract. He was bade not to land on a Thursday, but he was compelled by a storm; he was not to drink of a certain spring, but he did it through ignorance; lastly, he had directions as to chusing his field of battle, which he could not obey. The sagacious reader will anticipate the event—Sir Laughlan was defeated and slain.

[PENNANT.]

[85] Elizabeth, however old, was not of a temper to put up with any disrespect, even at this late period of her life and reign. On surmising that she was slighted, she encouraged writers to attack James's title to her succession. But an anecdote told by Guthrie (without naming his authority) is striking and characteristic.

In a dispatch which that spirited queen sent (at the age of sixty-four) to her minister in Scotland, Bowes, she inserted with her own hand, between the signature of her name and the

first

A.D. 1599. centric step of sending to gain the silent suffrage of every Protestant court for his succession to the English throne. The answer which he received from each to this very delicate communication was uniformly respectful, but strongly dissuasive of hasty measures, which might ruin an interest that otherwise no foreign or domestic event could injure.

Prudent conduct of James. The extreme earnestness of James to secure his English succession carried him still greater lengths; anxious to gain the good will of every party, he raised the jealousy of the Protestant states, by the indiscriminate attention which he paid to the professors of both religions.^[86] Elizabeth was at this period particularly hurt by the discovery of a letter to the Pope, signed by the Scottish prince, in which, after many expressions favorable to the Roman Catholic faith, he recommends Drummond,^[87] a Scot, to fill a vacancy

NOTES.

first line of her instructions, the following nervous words: ‘ I wonder how base-minded that king thinks me, that with patience I could digest such dishonorable treatment! Let him therefore know that I *will* have satisfaction, or else ——.’ James pacified the angry virago with ample submission, and received 7000l. from her during that year.

[HIST. OF SCOTLAND.]

[86] The Pope was so steady a friend to James’s rights, that that grateful prince made a public acknowledgement on that head some years after. [CALDERWOOD.]

[87] The house of Drummond, says Mr. Pennant, took its origin from the pilot of the vessel which conveyed th royal

Saxon

cancy in the sacred college. A copy of this paper (which had been obtained by the humble diligence of the Master of Gray, who now acted as a spy for Elizabeth at Rome) was sent to James.* At first he denied all knowledge of it, but afterwards owned his name, but averred that he had signed it carelessly, without having examined the contents. [88] With this excuse the queen found it prudent to acquiesce; she saw indeed, with unutterable anguish, that her people began visibly to look towards her successor; and that Bruce of Kinloss, his ambassador, a man of great address and abilities, had made innumerable proselytes among her greedy, ungrateful courtiers. She had endeavored, by seizing a low culprit, named Valentine Thomas, to intimate a suspicion of his being employed by James to hasten her decease; but the manly and open conduct of the prudent heir made her ashamed of the shallow plot.

NOTES.

Saxon family of England, at the æra of the Norman conquest, to Leith. Mauritz was his name, a Hungarian of royal blood. In gratitude for his skilful care, Malcolm Canmore gave him a grant of lands, and the appellation of 'Dyymen,' or 'The high Ridge,' referring to the waves over which he had safely conducted the future Queen of Scotland. [PENNANT.]

[88] Although the blame fell on Elphinstone, a Roman Catholic, secretary to the king, yet it has been strongly hinted that Anne of Denmark was principally concerned in the business; she was busy and mercenary.

* Spotswood, p. 456.

A.D. 1599. plot. As Elizabeth, however, did not wish him to be too certain of success, she did not discourage the polemic politician, who published fugitive pieces arraigning the title of James to the English throne; but the cautious Scot, instead of complaining to the queen, caused each treatise to be answered with such spirit and strength of argument, that his cause gained ground by the very cavils of his enemies.

Basilicon Doron. Nor did the publication of the ‘Basilicon Doron,’ at this juncture,* hurt the interest of the King of Scots, its author. The sentiments which it contained had been misrepresented, and it became necessary to let the world see, that the principles of the work neither tended to bigotry nor despotism. It proved to be a well-written treatise on the arts of government, clothed in as pure a style as the age would admit, and not more chargeable with pedantry than contemporary books of a serious kind.

The study of letters naturally led the well-informed prince into the walks of Parnassus; and *Come-dians sent for from England.* he manifested his attachment to the Muses by requesting Elizabeth to send him a company of English players to Edinburgh. But, as the gaiety of the stage, and the free manners of the comedians formed too strong a contrast to the solemn discipline recommended by the stern followers of

Calvin,

* Spotswood. p. 457.

Calvin, a warm opposition was made by the clergy ^{A.D. 1599.} against a measure which tended to substitute wit and cheerfulness in the room of formality. * The king had however gained too strong an ascendance over the church to be passive under an opposition to a favorite project. The preachers were ordered by the throne to be silent, and the theatre, disburthened of an anathema, became the resort of every rank of society. A modern historian[†] affirms, that he has reason to think the great Shak-spear to have been one of the party that migrated to the North on this expedition.

The nearer the King of Scots approached to the English throne, the more diligence he exerted in smoothing the path which led to that exalted station. He wished most ardently to conciliate the Roman Catholics, and with that view made the Popish Archbishop of Glasgow[‡] (after the convention had been persuaded to restore his temporalities) reside at Paris as his ambassador; and he employed Lord Home, a Roman Catholic peer, in a private negotiation with the Pope; while Sir James Lindsay, familiarizing himself with those of that religion in England, disposed them to expect great indulgence at the accession of James.

The cautious prince paid equal attention to the ministry and favorites of Elizabeth; and, while he listened

* Spotswood, p. 457.

+ Guthrie.

‡ Calderwood, vol. vi. p. 147.

▲. D. 1600. listened with a polite but incredulous ear to the wild fears of a Spanish pretender, with which the Earl of Essex perplexed him, he had begun to form a much more certain and useful connection with Cecil, the right hand of the declining queen; a connection which, after the unfortunate Essex had rushed on his destruction, still silently supported the cause of James, and at length introduced him peaceably to the throne of Great Britain.

At this juncture, when every thing and every party concurred to promote his interest, when the church interfered not with the exercise of his authority, and when the private quarrels of the nobility were gradually subsiding, a strange incident, hitherto totally unaccounted for, and indeed, hardly credited by many, had nearly deprived the king of life, and involved the island in confusion.

Gowrie's conspiracy. If a conspiracy existed, it was assuredly one of the worst concerted which history can produce; but so wild are the circumstances which are handed down to the present age, that it does not appear what advantage could accrue to any of the conspirators had the plot succeeded. The account beneath is copied from the narrative which James himself gave to the public.

Lord Gowrie and his brother, Alexander Ruthven, were the sons of the Earl of Gowrie, put to death in 1584 for treason. They were accomplished young men, of amiable characters, had a more than common share of learning, were much favored

vored by the king, and exceedingly beloved in ~~A.D. 1600.~~ the northern counties of Scotland.

On the 5th of August, 1600, James was at his hunting palace, called Falkland, not far from Perth, the seat of the Gowrie and Ruthven popularity; he was at an early hour proceeding in search of sport, when Alexander Ruthven met him, and with great confusion and earnestness informed him, that he had seized a suspicious fellow, who had under his cloak a large pot full of money, and that he detained him for his Majesty's examination.* Money was an irresistible bait to the needy prince, and, although not satisfied, he was persuaded by his informer to ride without attendants to Lord Gowrie's, where the bearer of the treasure (whom James immediately supposed to be an emissary from the Pope or King of Spain) was kept in hold. They entered the castle by a private way, and, ascending a blind staircase to a small obscure room, where they found a man standing, armed at all points, Ruthven, suddenly altering his behavior, told the king, that as he had slain the father of Gowrie, and of him, he must die to expiate his offence. James reasoned with him, defended his own conduct, and so far staggered his sanguinary plan, that he left the room, but soon returned, denouncing death to the hapless prince, and endeavoring to tie his hands,

while

* Spotswood, p. 459.

A.D. 1600 while he held a dagger at his breast. The armed man, who had been argued by the king into an agony of terror, stood trembling by, when James, exerting his utmost strength, and overpowering Alexander Ruthven, gained the window, and calling to his attendants, they forced a passage, relieved the king, and slew both the Gowries. And thus James concludes his own narrative: ‘ While these spells were about him, (Gowrie) the wound of which he died bled not, but when they were taken away the blood gushed out in great abundance; an infamy which has followed and spotted the race of this house [89] for many descents,’ &c. &c.

Clergy
incredulous.

So strange and unexpected an event, although vouched by royal authority, met with slow and unwilling belief. The Gowrie family had been beloved by all, and especially by the clergy of Scotland; and it was with the greatest difficulty

that

NOTES.

[89] This sarcasm on the house of Ruthven perhaps refers to the execution of Jane Douglas, Lady Glamis, who had some relationship to that family, and who was burnt on a charge of sorcery about twenty-five years before. This poor lady is also hinted at in a ballad which may be found in the ‘ Reliques of Ancient English Poetry,’ entitled ‘ Northumberland betrayed by Douglas.’

‘ My mother she was a witch ladyè,
And of her skill she learned mee,
She would let me see, out of Loch Leven,
What they did in London citiè,’

that the preachers could be persuaded to publish A.D. 1600.
from their pulpits the king's own narrative of the
plot; at length however all, except Robert Bruce,
acquiesced. But that sturdy demagogue could
only be brought to say, that, although he *respected*
the king's account of the affair, he would not an-
swer for *believing* it. In vain did James condescend
to reason with the obstinate sceptic; he retained
his incredulity, and was banished to England.*

More courtly in their faith, the members of a
convention, which was immediately called, la-
mented over the peril of the king, and loaded its
authors with disgrace. The mangled bodies + of
the two young men were, as the custom ordained,
produced to the house, and condemned as guilty
of treason; their lands were forfeited; the name
of Ruthven declared infamous; and an annual
day of thanksgiving for the royal escape unan-
imously directed to be held by all good subjects.[90]

Before

NOTES.

[90] This whole story is so absurd and improbable, that it can only be explained (say most writers) by one of the following methods: Either James's detestation of the Ruthven family made him invent the whole story, or else the plan was laid by the Ruthvens with a view not to kill the king, but to frighten him into acquiescence, and then to deliver him up to Elizabeth.

Both these solutions are highly improbable. James's turn was not sanguinary, nor had he ever shewn signs of malice against

* Calder. vol. v. p. 389.

+ Spotswood, p. 462.

A.D. 1600. Before the close of this year, we must notice
 Birth of the birth of Charles, an ill-starred prince,
 Prince
 Charles. doomed

NOTES.

against younger branches of the Ruthven family. On the other hand, Elizabeth, declining in spirits and in health, was not likely to encourage an undertaking so perilous and so little necessary.

There is one other way of solving the mystery. If we can suppose Alexander Ruthven to have been seized with a sudden fit of insanity, then most part of the tale may be accounted for. At any rate the earl seems to have had no concern in it. He had a large armed force, yet he made no use of it against the king; but, as soon as he heard a cry that 'the king was slain,' he dropped two swords which he had in his hands, and suffered his heart to be pierced without resistance. Nor could Alexander Ruthven have designed the murther of James, since, when his dagger was at the king's breast, he only made use of it to terrify him that his hands might be bound. The armed man too (who on promise of pardon surrendered himself) proved to be one Henderson, a timid honest man, totally ignorant why he was clothed in armor, and so frightened that he was a long time recovering the use of his senses.

When every other surmise has failed, may we not ask, whether the unprincipled intriguing Anne of Denmark might not somehow be concerned in this strange affair? There are hints given among Winwood's papers of her attachment to Alexander Ruthven, whose personal beauty was extraordinary, and of the king's uneasiness on that account.

About nine years after this strange event, one Sprat, a notary, having prated imprudently, as if he had been concerned in the plot against the king, was seized and tortured, on which he made an inconsistent wild confession, charging two dead persons (Logan and Bour) as his accomplices. He was hanged; and, having promised to the spectators that he would

doomed to supply a melancholy page to the ^{A.D. 1601.} annals of Great Britain.

That unhappy disturbance at London which, in 1601, cost the gallant Earl of Essex his life, and his royal mistress her peace of mind, gave great uneasiness to the King of Scots, in whose favor the rash, unthinking earl, avowedly raised his standard. The ambassadors, (Mar and Kinloss) who were sent in haste to save* if possible the friend of James from the axe, arrived, perhaps fortunately, after the blow was struck; and turned into congratulations the intended remonstrances. These were received by the dispirited ^{Ainity} Elizabeth with kindness, and rewarded by an ad-^{with Eli-}dition of 2000*l.* per annum to the usual pension. The Pope at this juncture, displeased with James for thus strengthening his connection with the foe of Catholicism, forbade, by a privately-distributed bull, all persons to acknowledge any successor to the throne of England who should not promise to tolerate, and even to establish, the Roman belief. By some this prohibition has been looked on as the progenitor of the gunpowder-treason conspiracy.

James

NOTES.

would give a token of his veracity, he clapped his hands thrice after the executioner had thrown him off the ladder. Yet Archbishop Spotswood treats the confession with contempt.

[ROBERTSON.]

* Birch, Mem. vol. ii. p. 410.

A.D. 1601.
Cecil a
friend to
James.

James now received an ample proportion of professions of loyalty and support from his future English subjects; and Cecil, the hereditary foe of the Stewarts, heartily but secretly espoused his cause. Yet he was anxious to know the sentiments which Henry IV. of France had formed of his right to the English crown, and sent the duke of Lenox, splendidly equipped, to sound his opinion. The answer of the ruminating Bourbon, (with whom James was never a favorite, and to whom the supposed negotiations with Rome and Spain had given suspicion and disgust) was so dry and unpromising, that the ambassador was ordered abruptly to repair to the court of England. There he offered to the infirm and aged sovereign the aid of the whole Scottish force, if necessary, to quell the Irish rebels. She accepted not the offer, but thanked James with affectionate gratitude.

1602. The story of Scotland as a separate kingdom now draws apace to its close. James saw the termination of his residence in the North approach, and wished to leave behind him some testimony of his affection which might endure.* To introduce new sources of provision and commerce to the Western Islands (then over-clouded with barbarism) was an object worth his attention. But although there are only dark accounts of his endeavors towards its accomplishment, yet these

Unfortunate at-
tempt to
civilize
the He-
brides.

are

* Basil. Doron. p. 159.

are worth relating, as they prove the independence of those isles, and the weakness of James's government. It appears that he drew from Fife, where the inhabitants were industrious in husbandry, and good fishermen, an efficient colony, (headed by Sir James Anstruther and other gentlemen) and planted it on the isle of Lewes. Murdoch Macleod, a base-born but potent and ferocious chief, was at this time lord of Stornoway, a district where the new comers landed, and him they expelled, probably with inconsiderate haste. His people on shore submitted, but the active despot putting to sea with a little fleet composed of *birlings*, a bark peculiar to the Western Isles, soon found an opportunity to surprize one of the colonial ships which a calm had prevented from taking measures for flight or defence. The whole crew were hanged by the inhuman captor, except the Laird of Balgomie, who was on board, and he, after a rigorous confinement, was ransomed, ^{Savage} _{islanders.} and died at Orkney. Soon after Murdoch was seized by his own brother, Neil Macleod, who sold him to the Scots, and he was hanged at St. Andrew's. The colony in the mean while was surrounded and harrassed by the natives under a third brother, Norman Macleod; and, when most of the adventurers were slain or starved, the residue yielded themselves prisoners, and the unsteady king, instead of revenging the insult, bought the freedom

A.D. 1602. of the few survivors with a promise that the islanders of Lewes should remain unmolestedly savage.*

1603.
James becomes
King of
Great
Britain.

This was the last incident which the reign of James VI. produces as king of one half of Great Britain. On the decease of Elizabeth he ascended her throne, not only without opposition but with the complete approbation of all; as no title was ever more indubitably established than that of the King of Scots to the crown of England.[91] It was indeed a title clearly superior to that of the Plantagenets; being derived from David I. of Scots, who was heir to St. Margaret, the sister and heiress of Edgar Atheling; whereas, excepting the right which possession can impart, the Plantagenets had no claim but from Matilda, the sister of David, and wife to Henry Beauclerc.

How far the abilities of James were found to fit him for the great task now before him, and whether his mind and his views were enlarged proportionably to the increase of his dominions, will be seen in a following volume.

HISTORY

NOTES.

[91] The pedigree of James was a lasting feast for the students of genealogy. The author has now before him a book in quarto, compiled by 'George Owen Harry, Parson of Whitechurch in Kemeis,' comprising the descent of that prince from Noah, Brutus, and Cadwallader; from Owen Tudor, and from almost every crowned head in Europe. It was printed at London in 1604.

* Spotiswood, p. 468.

HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

CHAP. II.—PART. I.

SECTION I.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND, FROM THE
DEATH OF HENRY VIII. A. D. 1547, TO THE AC-
CESSION OF JAMES I. A. D. 1603.

IT were natural to suppose, that the general interest of religion, as well as that of reformation in particular, should have been much rewarded by the decease of the capricious and more than half Roman Catholic Henry,^[1] and

Cent. XVI: ~~~~~
Edw. VI. favors the Re-forma-tion.
the

NOTES.

[1] The reader may consult Burnet's *Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 13, for the account of a circumstance at the royal funeral which afforded matter of triumph to the bigoted Papists, and which gave them an opportunity of comparing the obsequies of Henry VIII. to those of Jezebel. See 1st. book of *Kings*, chap. ix. v. 33, &c.

Cent. XVI. the accession of Edward VI. a prince so exceedingly amiable, virtuous, and even pious, that, allowing for the natural exaggerations of Protestant writers, he must be looked on as a prodigy; especially considering his extreme youth and his situation as a king, surrounded with every temptation which servility could offer or luxury afford.

The Protestant faith most certainly advanced by huge strides. It had on its side the affection* of the young Edward (whose education was totally in the hands of zealous reformers) and of the honest and zealous Protector;† the wise counsels of Cranmer, whose moderation was undoubted, and who by no means wished to destroy the hierarchy, but to reduce it according to the dictates of reason; the firm and bold arguments delivered from the pulpits of Latimer, Hooper, and many other sincere well-wishers to reformation; [2] and,

NOTES.

[2] Let us read a specimen of the age's blunt divinity from a work of Richard Bankes, 'dwellynge in Gracious Street besyde the Condyte,' printed as well as composed by himself, and addressed to the people, in 1544. 'Though I am olde, clothed in barbarus wede, nothyng garnyshed with gay eloquensy; yet I telle the truth (if ye lyke to take hede) againste theyr froward furious fantasy which recken it for a grate heresy, and unto laye people grevous outrage, to have Godes word in theyr native langage. Enemys I shall have; many a shorne crowne with forked caps,

and

* Holingshed, p. 979. † Burnet's Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 25.

and, in general, the good will of the people. Cent. XVI.
It had also an addition of strength in the eager-
ness

NOTES.

and gay crosses of golde; whiche, to mayntayne their am-
bicious renowne, are glad laye peopel in ygnorance to holde;

‘ Yet, to shew the verytē, one may be bolde,
‘ Altho’ it be a proverbe dayly spoken,
“ Who that tellyth truthe, his hed shall be broken.”

[A COMPENDIOUS OLD TREATYSE, SHEWYNCE, &c.

Another began thus,

‘ Will none in all this lande
Step forth, and take in hande
The buckler and defence
Of mother holy kyrcke,
Or weapon to drive hence
All that agaynst hyr wrycke.’

[A POORE HELPE.

But in a very scarce comedy, written by Bale, afterwards Bishop of Ossory, scurrility and prophaneness are called forth in great force to combat the monks and Popish miracles. Infidelity, one of the persons in the drama, speaking of the laity, prays ‘ To the omnipotent and eternal God,’ ‘ Ut sicut eorum sudoribus vivimus, ita eorum uxoribus, filiabus et domicellis perpetuo frui mercamur, per dominum nostrum Papam.’ The same speaker then begins a conversation in English with ‘ Lex Moysis,’ ‘ too low and licentious’ (says the historian of English poetry) ‘ to transcribe,’ introducing ‘ an olde fryre wyth spectacles on hys nose, and Dame Isabel, and olde nun, who crowes lyke a capon.’

It was (sings Infidelity, almost in the style of, though less delicate than, a modern Vauxhall ballad)

‘ A good world, when wyth us it was merye
And we went to Berye,

And

Cent. XVI. ness for plunder which most of the old courtiers of Henry possessed. By establishing the new doctrines, these had a chance of pillaging the secular, as they had already the regular, clergy. Indifferent to all religion they dreaded the return of Popery, as it must bring with it a severe account for them to settle.

Gardiner
its chief
sec.

The Popish party, which the experienced and cautious zeal of Gardiner [3] directed, as it could

NOTES.

And t'oure Ladye of Grace;
To the bloude of Hayles,
Where no chere fayles,
And other holye place.

When the prestes mighte walke,
And wyth yonge wyves talke,
Then had we chyldrene plentye;
Then cuckoldes myghte leape,
A score in a heape,
Now there is not one in twenty.

When the monkes were fatte,' &c. &c.

And thus, in another place, is the old philosophy ridiculed:
' And I wyll rayse up in the universitees
The seven sleepers there, t'advaunce the Pope's decrees :
As Dorbel, Duns, Durande, and Thomas of Aquine,
The maystre of sentens, wythe Bachon the grate devyne,
Henricus de Gandavo; and these shall rede " ad Clerum,"
Aristotle and Albertus, " de secretis mulierum,"
With the commentaries of Avicen and Averoyes,' &c.

[3] Gardiner wrote at this period a treatise in defence of ' holy water,' in opposition to a sermon preached by Bishop Ridley. ' It was,' he said, ' an instrument in the hands of the

Almighty,

could not oppose the torrent, readily gave it way ; Cent. XVI. opposing only now and then a slight impediment to its progress. ‘ They could not deny,’ they said ‘ that the measures proposed were good ; but this, being a minority, was not the proper season. Images ought not to be abolished, as they preserved a sense of religion among the illiterate multitude. Above all, they affirmed that it was a dangerous precedent to break through solemn acts of parliament in order to please an infant king or his minister.’

These inuendos missed their aim, and reformation proceeded with calm and steady steps.

It was about this time that Gardiner preached* before the king. He had been warned not to speak of controversial subjects, and the answer he gave had been moderate and satisfactory. But when in the pulpit, he forgot his promises ; and warmly supported the real presence of Christ’s flesh and blood in the sacrament. The effect of this ill-judged rhapsody was grossly indecent. Each party, although in the church, and before the king, cried out aloud and with vehemence to support or to insult the preacher ; and, on his leaving

NOTES.

Almighty, and might do good as well as the shadow of St. Peter, the hem of our Savior’s garment, or the spittle and clay laid on the eyes of the blind.’

[COLLIER.]

* Burnet’s Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 66.

~~Cent. XVI.~~ leaving the rostrum, the impolitic orator was taken to prison. His eloquence had little effect on the prepared mind of the young monarch, who had already ordered prayers to be read in the English language at the royal chapel.*

Instructions + were now formed which might generally direct the course which both the priest and his parishioners ought to steer. All the rules which Cromwell, as vicegerent of Henry VIII. had sent around the country, were renewed, and several others annexed. [4]

~~A visitation with injunctions.~~ A visitation, composed of ecclesiastics and laymen, perambulated the kingdom, (which was divided into six circuits) and took upon itself to spread abroad these injunctions, to correct immorality in the clergy, and to abolish gradually the ancient and obnoxious superstitions. [5] ‡ The parliament

NOTES.

[4] The keeping of ‘the holiday’ was strongly ordained in these injunctions, but that ‘holiday’ not being clearly explained, gave some offence. Those who apprehended that Sunday was meant, pressed the keeping of it with too much strictness; the others spent it in licentious gaiety. From small beginnings of this kind, lasting schisms arose. [HIST. OF REF.]

[5] So moderate were the directions given to the Visitors, that images not used for idolatrous purposes were to be retained, and ceremonies not yet abolished were to be still held in reverence; only holy-water sprinkling, bell-ringing, and lighting candles to drive away the devil, were exploded.

Some

* Stowe, p. 594.

+ Hist. of Ref. ii. p. 27.

‡ Ibid. p. 59.

parliament co-operated with these decent censors; Cent. XVI.
 priests (except a few to whom, as they could be
 trusted, general licence was given) were directed
 to preach only in their own[6] parishes; the
 Liturgy was amended; homilies favorable to re-
 formed principles were composed and ordered to
 be read; the communion in both kinds* was al-
 lowed to the laity; and, above all, the bloody
 act (as it was called) which had driven so many
 proselytes into exile, and had deprived the Pro-
 testant church of so many preachers, was repeal-
 ed; and, as a natural consequence, the marriage
 of priests was no longer forbidden.[7]

At

NOTES.

Some of these images loudly called for a removal or a refor-
 mation, particularly one (probably at Sarum, as a print of it was
 there published) in which the Blessed Virgin was admitted as
 a fourth person in the Trinity.

[6] Most of the English parish churches had been filled by
 displaced monks, in order to save the pensions with which they
 had been supported. And these, attached to their old doc-
 trines, roamed from church to church, inveighing against the
 new faith.

[BURNET. Fox.]

[7] At this part of the English history Mr. Carte introduces
 an anecdote so extraordinary that it merits admission, al-
 though it belong to a later age. ‘Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux,
 had,’ he says, ‘a dispensation from the Pope to marry.
 This was produced and verified before the Parliament of
 Paris, who (as the rapporteur of the cause told Mr. Carte)
 adjudged the bishop’s estate to his wife and children, and allow-
 ed them to be legitimate.’

[HIST. OF ENGLAND.]

* Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 39.

Cent. XVI. At the root, however, of this fair plant of reformation there was a canker-worm; the spoils of the many religious foundations with which Henry had gratified his favorites, had only whetted their appetites for prey. Having already pruned away the superfluous parts (and much superfluity there certainly was) from the revenues of the church, they began now to lop off those vital branches which were necessary for its support; and this principle had been so widely extended, that there was scarcely a benefice in the nation on which some greedy courtier was not pensioned.* Among these, Somerset the Protector, and many of his dependents, were endowed with spiritual preferments, deaneries, and prebends. For now, among other attacks on the hierarchy of England, the custom of bestowing church preferments on laymen gained ground every day.

Absurd disputes. In the mean while speculative points, not apparently of consequence to the general welfare of the reformation, were hotly maintained by the preachers of the new faith; a circumstance which not only gave great advantage to the enemies[8] of

NOTES.

[8] Particularly the doctrine of grace, and of justification by faith. Gardiner was rationally severe on the extreme precision with which these were defined in the new homilies; while, on the other side, Fox charges the Bishop of Winton as ‘an insensible ass, who had no feeling of God’s Spirit in the matter of Justification.’

[MARTYROLOGY.]

* Gilpin’s Latimer.

of the Protestant cause, but also proved the ^{Cent. XVI.} source of divisions among the teachers, and made them the laughing-stock of their enemies.

It was about this time that the French re-former, Calvin, wrote to Cranmer, offering his services towards forming the new rules for the English church; but the archbishop discouraged the overture. Calvin had better success in his address to the Protector, Somerset; and, gaining his favor, his advice had considerable weight in the revision of the Liturgy which in a short time was brought forward.*

About the year 1548 Peter Martyr was encouraged by Archbishop Cranmer to read lectures[†] on divinity at Oxford. Peter Martyr at Oxford.

This learned theologian (who, notwithstanding his appellation, died in his bed at Zurich in 1562) was born at Florence, in 1500, of a respectable and opulent family named Morigi. Against his will he was thrown among the friars of St. Augustine, and became a celebrated preacher; at length, studying the works of the reformers, he grew so heretical in his doctrines, that he was obliged to quit Italy. He was accompanied by Bernard Ochino, general of the Capuchins, who had imbibed the same sentiments. Wherever he went his great merit was acknowledged and respected.

In

* Heylyn apud Carte, vol. iii. p. 254, 255.

+ Life of Cranmer, p. 134.

Cent. XVI. In 1547 he was invited to England* by Edward VI. but was expelled [9] by Mary on her accession.

At Oxford he held public disputations on the contested points between the old and the new doctrines. Dr. Smith, a celebrated polemic, challenged him to a conference, and prepared a chosen audience to encourage their own side, and to hiss and hoot down the opponent of the Roman Catholic doctrines. But the calm Italian baffled their contrivances; and, by refusing to dispute in the method of the schools, and insisting on being judged by the scriptures, he threw his antagonist out of his common and studied course of argument. A tumult had nearly been raised by the discontented schoolmen, but the vice-chancellor interfered; and Dr. Smith, having been reprimanded by the privy-council, retired to the continent, but soon returned, recanted, and remained a firm Protestant until the accession of Mary.

As Peter Martyr immediately assaulted the main fortress of the Roman Catholic faith, ‘The Corporal Presence,’ he alarmed both the bigots and the well-meaning on the side of Popery. Three

of

NOTES.

[9] His daughter, falling into misfortunes, was pensioned by the senate of Zurich, from esteem to the memory of her father. Peter Martyr wished a general union among all Protestants, and is spoken of (with Melancthon) as the mildest of reformers.

* *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique*, Art. Pierre.

of the former, and one of the latter cast, started ^{Cent. XVI.} against him ; Chedsey, Morgan, Tresham, [10] and Bernard Gilpin. The three first he discomfited, and converted the last named, who in consequence became one of the strongest supporters of the Protestant religion.*

It may not be amiss here to give the general reasons for the change of religious sentiments in this great reformer, as briefly set out by his ingenuous descendant : ‘ He found that the chief doctrines of the Popish church obtained not in the purer ages of the Christian church, but were all the inventions of later times, when ignorance and credulity prevailed. *Seven sacraments* he found had never been heard of before the time of Peter Lombard, 1100 years after Christ; no traces could be found of the *the denial of the cup to the laity*, until

NOTES.

[10] Of Dr. Tresham we preserve an anecdote which marks his character. When Mary meant to restore the old religion to the Universities, Tresham, then Sub-dean of Christ-Church, convoked the members of the college, and having recommended Popery to them in the usual common-place terms, he added, ‘ that the queen had been so gracious as to send them a number of fine copes which were intended for Windsor, and that each of them should have one if he would go to mass.’ He promised them also ‘ to procure for the college the Lady-Bell at Bampton, which would make the peal at Christ-Church the sweetest of any in England; and that, lastly, he would give them as fine a water-sprinkle as eyes ever beheld.’

[LIFE OF LATIMER.]

* Life of Gilpin, p. 13.

Cent. XVI. until the same date; and the doctrine of *transubstantiation* itself was not heard of before the eighth century after Jesus Christ.*

Superstitious customs exploded. Reformation now moved a step onwards; and orders of council prohibited the various processions, the candles on Candlemas-day, ashes on Ash-Wednesday, and palms on Palm-Sunday. Images were now no longer suffered in churches; nor was the auricular confession strictly enjoined as heretofore.

David's Psalms versified. About this time too the metrical version of David's Psalms, by Thomas Sternhold, began to be used in churches. [11]

This translation however was not only owing to the muse of Sternhold; he had an obscure assistant, John Hopkins, a clergyman and schoolmaster in Suffolk, of whom little is known.

William

NOTES.

[11] And here we may take notice of Sternhold's great prototype, Clement Marot, who, from the same religious motive, had, a very short space before, translated the Psalms into French. He had the pleasure to see his verses become so fashionable as to be sung by the first persons about court, although not with that purity and simplicity of heart which he meant should have attended them. The dauphin's love of the chase made him delight in 'Ainsi qu'on oit le cerf bruire.' Mad. de Valentinois expressed her love to the dauphin by chanting 'Au fond de ma pensée.' And every prince, peer, and lady, chose a psalm to sing, which best expressed the ambition, love, or mystery, which chanced at that time to command in each breast.

[WARTON ON POETRY.]

* Life of Gilpin, p. 21, 22, &c.

William Whyttingham, Dean of Durham, ^{Cent. XVI.}
translated some of the Psalms, and versified the
Ten Commandments, the Athanasian Creed, &c.

Thomas Norton translated twenty-seven of the
Psalms. He was a barrister, and a warm Cal-
vinist. The tragedy of Gorboduc is supposed
to have been partly written by his pen.

Robert Wisdome translated one Psalm, and
composed the rhapsody against ‘Pope and Turk.’
[12] He had been nominated to an Irish bishop-
ric by Edward VI. was a fugitive under Mary,
and

NOTES.

[12] The facetious Bishop Corbet has left us a whimsical
epigram on this solemn bard. He fancied himself seized with
a sudden impulse to hear or to open a puritanic hymn, and
invokes the ghost of Robert Wisdome to assist in the composi-
tion, but warns him to steal back to tomb with caution.

To the Ghost of Robert Wisdome:

‘Thou, once a body, now but ayre,
Arch-botcher of a psalm or prayer,
From Carfax come!

And patch us up a zealous lay,
With an old *ever and for aye*,
And *all and some*.

Or such a spirit lend me,
As may a hymne down send me,
To purge my braine.

But, Robert! look behind thee,
Lest *Turk* or *Pope* do find thee,
And go to bed againe.’

~~Cent. XVI.~~ and afterwards became Archdeacon of Ely when Elizabeth reigned.

The entire version of the Psalms was published at length by John Day, A. D. 1562.

Liturgy
and mar-
riage of
priests
settled.

Towards the close of 1548 [13] a liturgy, settled by the prelates and confirmed by parliament,* was published, and ordered to be used in churches. This form of prayer had been drawn up by a select committee of the most moderate bishops and divines; and, as none of them were actuated by that spirit of contradiction which usually attends great innovations, they retained as much of the service of the mass as the principles of reformation could possibly permit. Priests now were allowed to marry,† although, by the preamble of the permission, celibacy was forcibly recommended.

Thus, in the space of little more than two years, was the reformation in England, in a great measure

NOTES.

[13] At this time it appears that the preachers of the age differed so much from one another in doctrine, that it was judged necessary to silence them for a space, by a proclamation, that they might afterwards start together on somewhat nearer the same grounds.

[FULLER'S CHURCH HISTORY.]

An act, passed at the close of this year, unites several parishes in the city of York in one, on account of the great decay of the place; and Collier seems to apprehend, that the revenues of dissolved monasteries being expended at a distance from the city, occasioned this local distress. An opinion much controverted.

[ECCL. HIST. VOL. II.]

* Stat. 2 and 3 Edw. VI. cap. 1.

† Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 84, 85.

sure completed. Yet a few of the Popish doc- Cent. XVI.
trines, and particularly that of the ‘real presence,’ still maintained their ground with many, and were supported by the old friars, who constituted the greater number of parish priests. Those indeed who were not thus provided were reduced to great extremities, and forced to take to the lowest trades for subsistence; some became taylors and carpenters, and many kept public houses of entertainment.

The appointment of Dr. Hugh Latimer to Hugh La-
timer made Bi-
shop of Worces-
ter.
preach before the king does great honor to Somerset, who held the reins of government. Latimer had a quick wit and an undaunted spirit. Wherever he saw vice, he exposed it to public shame, although it might lie in the bosom of a prime minister. The quaintness of the style used in the 16th century, and the natural humor of the preachers gave to his discourses an air which would now be termed vulgar, but which *then* offended not the nicest ear.

A few extracts from the sermons preached by Extracts
from his
Sermons.
this sincere and honest divine, before his king, will be of use to point out at the same time his own inflexibility of character, and the licentious manners of the times. ‘Remember,’ he exhorts Edward, ‘Remember that God says, “he that shall do my will shall reign long, he and his children.” Wherefore I would have your grace remember this; and when any of these flatterers

Cent. XVI. and fibber-gibbers another day shall come and claw you on the back, and say, “Sir, trouble not yourself; what should you study for? Why should you do this or that?” Your grace may answer them thus: “What, Sirrah! I perceive you are weary of us; doth not God say that a king should fear God, that he may reign long? I perceive now that thou art a traytor!” Tell him this tale once, and I warrant you he will come no more to you.’

Speaking of the reformation, he says, ‘It is yet but a mingle-mangle, a hotch-potch; I cannot tell what; partly Popery and partly true religion mingled together. They say in my country, when they call their hogs to the swine-trough, “Come to thy mingle-mangle, come, pur, come!” Even so do they make a mingle-mangle of the gospel,’ &c.

In another place he attacks the prelates: ‘Oh that a man might have the contemplation of hell! That the devil would allow a man to look into it and see its state! “On yonder side,” would the devil say, “are punished unpreaching prelates.” I think, verily, a man might see as far at a kenning, as far as from Calais to Dover, I warrant you, and see nothing but unpreaching prelates.’*

Another time he thus satirizes non-residents: ‘I heard lately of a bishop, on a visitation, that when

NOTES.

* Life of Latimer, p. 112.

when he should have been rung into the church, ^{Cent. XVI.} as the custom is, the great bell's clapper was fallen down; there was a great matter made of this, and the chief of the parish were much blamed for it. They excused themselves as well as they could; it was a chance, they said, and should be amended as shortly as might be. Among them was one wiser than the rest, and he comes up to the bishop, "Why, my lord," saith he, "do you make so much of the bell that wanteth a clapper? Here is a bell," quoth he, and pointed to the pulpit, "that hath lacked a clapper these twenty years." I warrant you this was an unpreaching prelate; he could find fault with a bell that wanted a clapper to ring him into town, but not with the parson that preached not at his benefice,' * &c. &c.

One might be tempted to augur well of a court wherein such rough truths might be publicly spoken with impunity; unhappily that allowance which, we might hope, proceeded from approbation of the doctrine, took its rise in the hardened insensibility of the courtier's bosom. The informal trial and execution of the admiral, [14] at this

NOTES.

[14] This accomplished but turbulent lord had a turn both to piety and poetry. It was but just before his execution that he wrote the following lines:

‘ Forgetting

* Life of Latimer, p. 121.

Cent. XVI. this time, hurried on by his otherwise humane brother, the protector, supplies a marked feature to this strangely inconsistent period.

It was but a necessary piece of policy to confine Gardiner and Bonner, inveterate foes of the reformation, and capable of impeding its progress; but how it came to pass that the mild and candid Cranmer should have pressed on the cruel execution of a wrong-headed fanatic, Joan Bocher, A Kentish heretic burnt. commonly styled ‘Joan of Kent,’ merely for a speculative opinion, is still a mystery. She held, with one sect of the Anabaptists, that ‘Christ was not truly incarnate of the virgin, whose flesh being

NOTES.

- ‘ Forgetting God, to love a king,
Hath been my rodde ; or else nothyng
In this frail lyfe, beyng a blaste
Of care and stryfe, till it be paste.
Yet God did call me in my pryd,
Leste I should fall, and from him slyde ;
For whom he loves he must correcte,
That they may be of his electe.
Then, Death, haste thee ! thou shalt me gaine
Immortallie with God to raigne.
Lord send the king like years as Noye,
In governing this realme in joye ;
And after this frail lyfe, such grace,
That in thy blisse he maie find place.’

Yet, notwithstanding the extreme self-approbation and confidence of these verses, we are told by the honest Hugh Latimer, that he died on the scaffold ‘ very dangerouslie, irksomlie, horriblie.’

being sinful he could take none of it.' And she ^{Cent. XVI.} provoked her judges to cruelty by an indecent sauciness of behavior, which ought to have moved their compassion, as it brought conviction of her brain being disordered. Cranmer could not, without great difficulty, persuade the young king to sign her death warrant; although he argued from the law of Moses, that 'blasphemers should be stoned, and that Joan had rushed with violence against the Apostles' Creed, and deserved the punishment of a blasphemer.' Edward's inward monitor was not to be satisfied with such dangerous sophistry. 'I sign this sentence,' said the amiable prince with tears, 'because I am under your authority; but, if I am doing wrong, you must answer it to God.'* This awful declaration, although from the lips of an infant, struck the venerable prelate with such horror that he strove to save the woman; but her 'jeers and other insolences,' although only additional proofs of her insanity, provoked her execution; and she perished by fire, bishop Scory preaching while the poor maniac [15] was consumed to ashes.

There was at this period an Anabaptist of a ^{Anabaptists and} noxious kind than the unfortunate Joan of ^{their te-} Kent, nats.

NOTES.

[15] A Dutchman, named Van Paris, suffered some time afterwards for a like heresy. He exulted in his martyrdom, and embraced each faggot with extasy. [BURNET.]

* Fox, vol. ii. p. 2. ed. 1684.

Cent. XVI. Kent, and he was permitted to think as he pleased. The precepts of this sect only related to the proper age and season for conferring baptism. Their principles were assailed by books, not by burning piles, and in consequence they were soon utterly forgotten.

Another sect * (for the great chain being loosened mankind enjoyed the liberty of forming new systems, although not always with impunity) were styled ‘Gospellers;’ they studied the Bible, and refined extremely, but by no means unnaturally, on the doctrine of predestination; ‘Heaven,’ said they, ‘has decreed what shall happen, and what our conduct shall be. Why then should we fruitlessly strive against these decrees? No! let us swim down the stream, and act as nature prompts or chance directs.’ This species of Quietism was opposed by Bishop Hooper; and a caution against it may be found in the church article of Predestination.

Insurrec-
tions fre-
quent.

During the summer of 1549 there were great commotions in England, partly in favor of the old religion, but more on account of a scarcity of provisions, which was by the people imputed to the numerous inclosures which had lately been made. These were repelled by force, and the country was at length reduced to order; † however, the good Cranmer, finding the minds of men still agitated,

* Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 105.

† Ibid. p. 109.

agitated, and ready to prompt them again to rebellion, took the pains to answer the declaration which they had published paragraph by paragraph; and in a plain but masterly manner, suited to the lowest comprehension. We will give a short specimen. As to their demand of a separate jurisdiction for the clergy, he writes, ‘I cannot deny but these be good and beneficial decrees for the liberty of the clergy. But I suppose none of you will think it an indifferent decree that a priest shall sue you where he list; but if he had slain one of your sons or brothers, you should have no remedy against him but only before the bishop.’

A visitation was now sent by the ministry to Dr. Ridley, Cambridge; and Bishop Ridley, who presided, approved of the plan while he thought it was plundered only to rectify abuses. But, when he found that the university was meant to be plundered; that some colleges were to be suppressed, (as Clare-hall, which the master and fellows saved by resistance) and some to be united two in one; he set his face so heartily against such unjustifiable outrages, that his associates, disgusted at his honesty, wrote to the protector, that the ‘barking,’ as they decently called it, of Ridley had stopped their proceedings. Somerset wrote to chide him, but gained nothing on his resolute honesty, and the university escaped pillage.

About this time, when the church was suffering an enormous pillage, it was judged equitable to Incumbent protected.

Cent. XVI. to secure what little was left to the ministers ; accordingly,* a very clear act of parliament passed in favor of the incumbent, giving him an effectual remedy, both in the temporal and spiritual court, for any failure in the payment of his tithes.

Bonner
ejected
from
London.

Soon after this, Bonner, Bishop of London, who had, on his fair promises, been indulged with liberty, was cited to appear before commissioners to answer the charges of ill-will to Protestantism, and insincerity in the compliances to which he had yielded. The character of Bonner was eccentric. He was more a buffoon than a bishop, nor would lose a conceit to save a confinement. When under examination, he likened one witness against him to a goose; and hearing a murmur he shook his head and softly said, ‘ Ah, Woodcocks ! Woodcocks !’† He asked the judges, ‘ Whether they really gave credit to the foolish folk who swore against him ?’ He accused Bishop Hooper of preaching ‘ like an ass, an ass indeed.’ And told the secretary of state, that as in a high office he honored him, but that, ‘ as Sir Thomas Smith, he lied.’ After such conduct none can wonder at his being judged unworthy to retain his see.‡

The fall of Somerset at the close of [16] 1549,
gave

NOTES.

[16] Thomas Sternhold, a minor reformer, died in the same year. He was of Hampshire, had been groom of the robes

* Stat. 2 and 3 Ed. VI. cap. 7. + Fox, vol. ii. p. 20, &c.

‡ Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 120.

gave to the Popish party the strongest hopes of ^{Cent. XVI.} a change in ecclesiastical affairs ; and Gardiner

from

NOTES.

robes to Henry VIII. had received from him a legacy of 100 marks, and was continued in his post by Edward VI. Being of a religious turn, and disliking the loose and wanton ballads sung by the courtiers of Edward, he undertook a metrical version of the Psalms, ‘ thinking thereby,’ says Anthony à Wood, ‘ that the courtiers would sing them instead of their sonnets; *but did not*, only some few excepted.’

There was a strange resemblance of circumstances between him and Clement Marot, his fellow-laborer in France, who versified the Psalms from the same motive. ‘ Each version was published both in France and England, by laymen and by servants of the court.’

The extreme disparity of Sternhold to himself as a poet can only be accounted for by remarking, that ‘ his only merit consists in preserving the expressions of the prose version; when once he attempts to add or dilate, his weakness appears. How else could he who wrote

‘ Thy heritage with drops of rain
 Abundantly was *washt*,
 And if so be it barren was
 By thee it was *refresh'd*.
 God's army is two millions
 Of warriors good and strong;
 The Lord also in Sinai
 Is present them among :’

~~be the author of those celebrated lines,~~

‘ The Lord descended from above,
 And bowde the heav'ns most high;
 And underneath his feet he cast
 The darkness of the sky.
 On cherubs and on cherubim
 Full royally he rode;
 And on the wings of mighty windes
 Came flying all abrode.’

Cent. XVI. from his prison wrote to the Earl of Warwick an artful letter, intreating his notice when affairs of state should be settled; but it was soon found that Warwick, (to whom all religions were perfectly indifferent) finding that both king and people were attached to the reformation, thought it his interest to support that cause with vigor. Southampton, who headed the Roman Catholics, after having heard him deliver this opinion in council, went home and died of a broken heart. The followers of the old faith were indeed much worse treated by the unprincipled Warwick and his council than they had been by the well-meaning, irresolute Somerset.

Warwick discourages the Popish party.

One of the first measures taken by the new administration in matters of religion was a change in the method of ordination. Many of the popish ceremonies were left out, and the imposition of hands and prayer alone retained, as being the only parts warranted by Scripture. A demand was ordered to be made of the petitioner for orders, ‘Do you trust that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Spirit to take upon you this office and ministration?’ &c. &c. To which he was to answer in the affirmative. More enlightened times would have avoided this very delicate question.

Heath, bishop of Worcester, for disagreeing with some of these alterations, was thrown into prison.

About the beginning of 1550, Bishop Ridley ^{Cent. XVI.}
 was appointed to the sees of London and West-
 minster, now for the first time united in one see; <sup>The sees
of West-
minster
and Lon-
don unit-
ed.</sup>
 1000l. a year and a prebendary, were judged suf-
 ficient for maintaining the episcopal dignity.
 The rest of what both sees had produced was
 swallowed up by some greedy attendant on the
 protector.* Thirlby, Bishop of Westminster,
 had been at this juncture persuaded to accept the
 see of Norwich, vacant by the resignation of
 William Reps.

The appointment of the rigid Hooper to the
 bishopric of Gloucester was attended with more
 difficulty, and, in its discussion gave rise to a Dr. Hoo-
 point of debate which is not yet settled. Hooper, ^{per's} _{scruples.}
 although willing to take on him the trouble of
 the diocese, objected to the oath of canonical
 obedience, and to the wearing of episcopal vest-
 ments† at the consecration. ‘They were,’ he
 said, ‘human inventions, and had been conse-
 crated for the mass-worship chiefly; and St.
 Paul,’ he added, ‘had condemned all such ce-
 remonial proceedings as “beggarly elements.”’
 On the other hand, Cranmer and Ridley af-
 firmed, ‘that in indifferent things, men should
 conform to established customs; that to aban-
 don the use of such vestments as employed for
 the mass, might lead to the destruction of
 bells, because baptized, and churches, because
 consecrated.’

* Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. p. 217, 272.

† Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 144.

Cent. XVI. because consecrated.' Bucer [17] and Peter Martyr, although they wished the ceremonials abolished in part, nevertheless condemned Hooper's obstinacy.* Yet, although so determined was the court to make him a bishop in the usual style that he was thrown into prison to break his spirit, he still held out, and, through favor of **They pre-
vail.** Warwick, carried his point; the king having commanded Cranmer to consecrate the obstinate priest unvestured and unsworn. [18]

Besides

NOTES.

[17] Martin Bucer was a man of great erudition, who from a Dominican became a Lutheran minister at Strasburgh. He fled to England from a German persecution with his wife and thirteen children. He was appointed to read lectures on the New Testament at Oxford. He died in 1557 of a painful disease, which forced him to cry out, 'Chastise me, Lord! but throw me not off in my old age!' Queen Mary ordered his bones to be disgraced and burnt.† Bucer composed a book for the use of King Edward, entitled, 'Concerning the Kingdom of Christ.' The prince (only fourteen years of age) perused it, and wrote observations on it with the wit of a man, but with a simplicity of style which proves it to be the production of an infant.

[BURNET. GRAINGER. DICT. HIST.]

[18] The historian of the English reformation treats the positive Hooper as a father of the Puritans, and remarks with St. James, 'How great a matter hath a little fire kindled!' The oath to which the strict teacher objected ran thus: 'By God, by the Saints, and by the Holy Ghost.' The two latter branches

* Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 145.

† Id cinerem aut manes credis curare sepultos? VIRGIL.

Besides the admission of the non-conforming ^{Cent. XVI.} Hooper among the rulers of the church of England, there were landed soon after on her coast farther aids to anti-episcopal doctrines, in the persons of John Alasco [19] and a large congregation of non-conforming Protestant Germans, who were received with kindness, and (to the number of 380) made denizens of England; although their opinions were hostile to her ecclesiastical regulations, as to vestments and as to ceremonial attitude. They were against all episcopal forms, and wished to receive the sacrament rather sitting than kneeling.

A new review of the Liturgy was made about this time, with the candid intention of altering any circumstances therein, which might press upon tender consciences. It was, however, the opinion of Bucer and other reformers, that no amendment was necessary.

Before

NOTES.

branches of this asseveration Dr. Hooper, with some reason, wished to avoid as totally unnecessary; and the good Edward, being convinced by his reasoning, drew his pen through the latter part of the proposed vow.

[NEAL'S HIST. OF PURITANS.]

[19] John Alasco was nearly related to the King of Poland, and had been a bishop of the Romish church. He purchased the valuable library of Erasmus, as that great man lay on his death-bed. Alasco and his congregation (who were chiefly manufacturers) were driven away by Queen Mary. He died in Poland, A. D. 1560.

[GRAINGER.]

Cent. XVI. Before the close of 1550, Tindal's translation of the Bible, revised by Dr. Coverdale, was published* for the use of English Protestants. [20]

Abuses rectified. During the rest of the year no remarkable incident occurred in the history of the English church. Bishop Ridley indeed aided the cause of reformation in the diocese of London, and removed many abuses which Bonner had never wished to check, such as ‘washing hands at the altar, holding up the bread, licking the chalice,’ &c. He changed the altars also into real tables, and the example was followed all over the realm.

Sermons on working days were suppressed about this time;† for it was observed as a serious evil, that many of the lower sort lost their time and profits

NOTES.

[20] There was at this juncture discernment enough in a simple printer, Robert Crowley, to enable him to see the advantage which the publication of an old, spirited, satirical work (aimed at the monks of the 15th century) might bring to the infant reformation. ‘At this tyme,’ says Crowley, ‘it pleased God to open the eyes of many to see hys truth, geving thim boldnes of herte to open their mouthes, and cry out against the workes of darkness, as did John Wycklefe and this writer, who’ &c. &c. The work here alluded to is ‘Piers Plowman’s Vision.’ A prose version of the same book was published in 1561, ending thus:

‘God save the kynge, and speed the plough,
And send the prelats care inough.
Inough, inough, inough.’

[AMES ON PRINTING.]

* Strype, vol. ii. p. 200, 203. + Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 151.

profits by running from village to village in the ^{Cent. XVI.} most busy time in quest of favorite preachers.

The next year a strict enquiry took place con- Some bi-
cerning the conduct of many old bishops, who shops
impeded the progress of reformation. But ex- ejected,
cept Gardiner and Bonner, who were detested some
by every Protestant as determined persecutors, fined.
and Voysey of Exeter, who resigned as conscious
of his own insignificance, the mild spirit of Cran-
mer prevented any considerable censures. Bon-
ner was degraded, and Gardiner left in prison.
Others, as Kitchen of Landaff, Capon of Sarum,
Sampson of Coventry, bought their security by
yielding part of their lands to the minister's
friends; nor did their greedy courtiers think it
beneath them to pillage the university libraries
and that of Westminster. [21]

The articles of religion, forty-two in number, Articles
which had been long delayed, lest any traces of ^{of faith} settled.
indecent

NOTES.

[21] This iniquitous transaction was carried on under the pretext of ‘ purging the libraries of all missals, legends, and other superstitious volumes. Sir Antony Aucher’s name shines on the record as a pillager of no common rank, but he expiated his fault by dying for his country when Calais fell. Irreparable mischief was done in the Oxford libraries. Books and MSS were destroyed without distinction. ‘ Those of divinity suffered for their rich bindings, those of literature as useless, and those of geometry and astronomy were supposed only to contain necromancy.’

Cent. XVI. indecent haste should be found about them,* were now settled; [22] probably by the particular care of Cranmer and Ridley.+ Some alterations were made in the Book of Common-Prayer; the use of oil in confirmation and extreme unction; the prayers for departed souls; and a few more reliques of Popery, were left out, and reasons were set forth for receiving the communion on the knee.

The Lady Mary harshly treated. Great endeavors were used (in consequence of that narrow zeal which swayed every religion in the 16th century) to deprive the Lady Mary, the king's sister, of the liberty of having mass said in her own palace. She resisted stoutly, [23] and appealed

NOTES.

[22] Of these articles an elegant modern writer observes, ‘The eternity of hell-torments is asserted in them; and care is also taken to inculcate, not only that no heathen, however virtuous, can escape an endless state of the most exquisite misery; but also, that every one who presumes to maintain that any Pagan can possibly be saved, is himself exposed to the penalty of eternal perdition.’

[HUME.]

[23] Mary wanted not for obstinacy. The good Catharine Parr had formerly requested that princess, then very young, to translate the Paraphrase of St. John by Erasmus, probably with a view to her conversion; but Mary soon got rid of the task, ‘being’ as she said, ‘cast into sickness by overmuch study at this work.’

[STRYPE.]

‘She would not,’ says Mr. Walpole, ‘have been so easily “cast into sickness,” had she been employed on the legends of St. Theresa, or St. Catharine of Sienna.’

[ROYAL AND NOBLE AUTHORS.]

* Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 158.

+ Collections by Burnet, vol. ii. No. 55.

appealed to the emperor her cousin, who remonstrated in her favor,* at first with some effect; but her toleration lasted not long, and she was so harrassed, and her chaplains so roughly treated, that she listened eagerly to a plan formed for her escape to the Netherlands. This was prevented, [24] although not before a vessel was hired in Flanders to hover on the coast of England, and convey her across the Channel. In short, Mary might fairly accuse the Protestants of having given her a taste of that persecution which afterwards, by her means, streamed down upon their teachers and themselves.

The king, whose youth must excuse his bigotry, wept bitterly at being forced to permit the mass to be said anywhere within his realm. But Mary smiled at his command. ‘Good sweet king,’ she used to say, ‘he is not a fit judge in these matters. If ships were wanted for the sea would his council let him appoint them? No! Why then in matters of theology, which are still more difficult to be understood?’

In

NOTES.

[24] The conduct of Warwick cannot be accounted for. Had he permitted Mary to escape, she could hardly have re-entered the island to receive the crown; the tide of popularity would have been against her, every ambitious project of that profligate statesman must have taken place, and the Dudleys would have succeeded to the throne of the Tudors.

* King Edward’s Journal, p. 9.

Cent. XVI.
Alterations in Liturgy, &c.

In 1552 several acts were brought forward and passed respecting religion. By one of these a new edition of the Liturgy, with alterations, was directed to be read;* by another, fasts and holidays were ordered to be observed, and the bishops were entrusted with the care of seeing the provisions of the act strictly observed. Sundays too were to be kept holy, except on extraordinary occasions, and then laborers might work even on such Sundays, holidays, &c. By a third, matrimony was not only permitted, but almost recommended, to the clergy. [25] One bill failed, which militated against simony; a monster which has been the object of penalties and of satire in all ages and all religions, and has yet approved itself invulnerable.†

A convocation which sat this year agreed to and confirmed all those regulations which the parliament had enacted.

Some reformation was also made, in 1552, in
the

NOTES.

[25] Among the various schemes of exalting the reformation on the ruins of Popery, the order of St. George, as it was then called, was comprehended. The king ordered it to be named the order of 'The Garter,' and changed the figure of a knight and a dragon to a knight with a sword, inscribed 'Protectio,' carrying a book on the point, on which was written, 'Verbum Dei,' and on his shield one might read 'Fides.' Queen Mary, early in her reign, expunged this religious romance, and replaced the injured saint and his dragon. Had she stopped there we had neither blamed her taste nor her zeal.

* Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 321.

† Hist. of Ref. p. 183.

the system of the canon or ecclesiastical laws. ^{Cent. XVI.} These had long wanted a strict examination. Ecclesiastical laws Such a one had been projected in the reign of Henry VIII. but that capricious monarch had dropped the plan. Cranmer, who had been employed by him, in 1545, in methodizing a system for improving these ordinances, neglected not the task, but drew up a scheme which, though liable to some objections, has great merit; this will be found in the note below. [26] Other prelates and divines

NOTES.

[26] The work was fated to obscurity. Henry had neglected it; and Edward VI. who earnestly patronized the undertaking, died just when the plan was settled. The book was however published in the reign of Elizabeth, and entitled ‘Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum.’ And as this work, though written by Cranmer, had been entirely approved by the other prelates and divines, and was very near being put in execution, it may be entertaining to recount how the law would have stood had the new system taken place.

All promises, or contracts of marriage, were to have been null and void. But every man who might seduce a girl from chastity must marry her, or pay her one third of his goods, or keep the child and do penance. All marriages without parents’ or guardians’ consent were to be null; but, should that consent be capriciously refused, the parties might find a remedy by applying to the ecclesiastical judge. In case of adultery the innocent party might marry again, but not the guilty. Besides this case there were others which justified divorces, long absence and irreconcileable enmity; and still the innocent party only might re-marry. These were the most considerable alterations marked out by Cranmer for the canon laws; which however, by a chain of accidents, continue to this day what they were under Henry VIII.

Cent. XVI. divines had been named by Henry to join Cranmer in his researches ; but the whole weight fell upon him, both on account of his superior abilities, and of his having carefully studied that particular branch of the law.

Two bishops ejected.

Before the close of this year Heath of Worcester, and Day of Chichester, were discarded from their sees,* the former for not approving of the new book of ordinations. Hooper was placed in the vacant diocese of Worcester, and Gloucester was reduced to an archdeaconry.†

Candor of Arch-bishop Cranmer. The parliament which passed the above-named acts was now dissolved. Warwick complained of it as an assembly chosen by, and devoted to, the interest of the fallen Somerset, who had expired under the axe at the beginning of 1552 ; it is true, that with a degree of firmness not common in the 16th century, it had resisted, among other unjust laws, one which meant to attaint the moderate and worthy Cuthbert Tunstal, Bishop of Durham ; a bill which, to the disgrace of the aristocratic branch, had passed the house of peers with only the negatives of the dispassionate Cranmer and Lord Stourton. Such a senate was ill-suited to the grasping Warwick, now exalted to the Dukedom of Northumberland. He dismissed it and called another, not omitting the most extraordinary and unconstitutional measures to secure a majority.

Before

* Hist. of Ref. p. 192.

† Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 297.

Before the year is entirely quitted, mention ^{Cent.XVI.} should be made of several attempts in parliament to effect some support for the education of those destined for the church, who had not interest to neglect. obtain exhibitions at either university, and to relieve the poorer clergymen. These were all ineffectual. A book was however published on this subject, and dedicated to the Bishop of Ely.

The church still afforded opportunities for plunder, and a quantity of chantry [27] lands were sold, in 1552, to pay the king's debts.

The new parliament in 1553 was all compliance, New and and readily gave consent to the dismembering of the bishopric of Durham, according to the minister's will. This measure was not quite so gross a robbery of the church as has been represented. The county palatine was to form two bishoprics, Durham and Newcastle, where a cathedral was to be built, and a deanry with a chapter founded and endowed. Nor does it appear that, when the allowance for the bishops and their train, as set forth in the act, should be deducted, that much revenue was left for the plunderer. It was probably the accession of power in the North, which

the

NOTES.

[27] Chantries, or chantrys, were small chapels or altars, within cathedral churches, endowed with lands or revenues to pay priests for singing mass for the welfare of the deceased's soul.

[GROSE'S ANTIQUITIES.]

Cent. XVI. the ambitious Northumberland aspired to, more than of profit, when he coveted the earldom (for such it seems to be) of Durham. But no essential step was taken in any part of this business before the accession of Mary, and the consequent fall of the Dudleys.

The reign of Protestantism was now almost expired. [28] The sickness and death of the promising

NOTES.

[28] During the short remainder of the reformed hierarchy, Christopher Tie, a doctor of music at Cambridge, having a passion for ‘ pious poetrerie,’ published the Acts of the Apostles in alternate rhymes, ‘ Very necessary for studentes after their studie to fyle their wittes, and also for alle christians that cannot synge to reade the good and godlie stories,’ &c. &c. And thus he recommends his lays to Edward VI.

‘ That such good thinges your grace might move,
 Your lute, when you assaye;
 In stede of songs of wanton love,
 These stories then to play.
 So shall your grace plese God the Lord,
 In walkyng in his waye;
 His loves and statutes to recorde,
 In your heart night and day.
 And eke your realm shall flourish still,
 No goode thyng shall decaye;
 Your subjects shall with right goode wil!
 These wordes recorde and saye;
 “ Thy lyfe, O kyng, to us doth shyne,
 As God’s boke doth thee teache;
 Thou dost us feed wyth such doctrine,
 As God’s elect doe preache.”

promising Edward [29] had begun the calamities ^{Cent. XVI.} of the reformed, and the complete failure of that ^{Death of Edw. VI.} desperate measure, the substitution of Lady Jane ^{and acces-} Gray in preference to the legal heir, threw refor-^{sion of Mary.} mation at the feet of its bitterest foes. While in power the Protestants had shewn no inhumanity. Led by men of bad and licentious character, they had

NOTES.

Sixteen years after this devout performance Dr. Tie published a Tale from Boccace, in the same Sternholdian measure, which by no means became his subject. [WARTON.]

The following extract from the same bard's Version of the Acts, will give no high idea of his poetic fire :

' It chaunced in Iconium,
As they oft times did use ;
Together they into did come
The sinagogue of Jues.
Where they did preache, and only seke
God's grace them to achieve,
That so they speke, to Jue and Greke,
That many did beleve.'

Peter Moore also wrote a metrical treatise against the Papal doctrines nearly at the same time, with this title :

' A short treatise of certayne thynges abused,
I' th' Popish church long used.
But now abolysh'd, to our consolation,
And Godde's word advanc'd, the light of our salvation.'

[29] Many circumstances concur to make it believed that that amiable prince had unfair treatment. Among other circumstances Dr. Heylyn produces the testimony of a Popish writer; who avers, that the apothecary who attended him, drowned himself in despair; and that she who washed his linen, lost the skin of her fingers.

Cent. XVI. had mercilessly pillaged the church, but private people had no reason to complain ; nor, except that of the few Anabaptists, had they shed any blood.

Her harsh measures. The accession of the bigot Mary gave to the Roman Catholics an opportunity of darting ten-fold vengeance on their adversaries. That narrow-minded princess, although seated on her throne by the loyalty of her Protestant subjects, to whom she had promised security for their religion, [30] chose to be queen of a sect ; and eagerly thirsted to restore every abolished superstition. [31] The artful

NOTES.

[30] Ungratefully as she treated the inferiors, she forgot not their general the Earl of Sussex, Radcliffe, for she gave him a licence to wear his hat in the royal presence in England. The De Courcys have the same privilege in Ireland.

[31] It was not long before Mary renewed the absurd custom (abrogated by her father Henry VIII.) of the ‘boy-bishop.’ ‘On St. Nicholas even, a boy habited like a bishop, “in pontificalibus,” went abroad in most parts of London singing after the old fashion, and was received by many ignorant, but well-disposed people, into their houses,* and had as much good cheer as ever was wont to be had before.’

[STRYPE.]

With

* Particularly hospitable were the nuns to the ‘boy-bishop’ and his train. Accordingly we find in the injunctions to the religious ladies of Romsey nunnery, by the Bishop of Winton, ‘Item prohibemus ne cubent in dormitorio pueri masculi cum monialibus, vel foemellæ, nec per moniales ducantur in thorum,’ &c.

artful and cruel Gardiner, and the time-serving Cent.XVI.
brutal Bonner, were her most trusted advisers; Gardiner, with the veteran Duke of Norfolk and Lord Courtney, had thrown themselves at her feet when she visited the Tower on her first arrival in London as Queen of England; and she had set them free, and made Courtney Earl of Devonshire. She likewise restored by patent to its ancient dimensions, the bishopric of Durham, and re-instated the good Tonstal in his diocese.

No one could wonder at Mary's decided aversion from reformation and its votaries, who would recollect

NOTES.

With this custom was probably connected a superstitious idea of presents from St. Nicholas, as may be gathered from the following lines :

' St. Nicolas monie usde to give to maidens secretlie,
Who, that he still may use his liberalitie,
The mothers all their children on the eeve do cause to fast,
And when they everie one at night in senselesse sleepe are cast,
Both apples, nuts, and payres they bring, and other thinges
beside,
As cappes, and shoes, and petticoates, with kirtles they do
hide,
And, in the morning found, they say, " Saint Nicolas this
brought," &c. &c.

[B. GOOGE'S POPISH KINGDOM.]

Strype relates more mummeries revived in this auspicious reign. ' On May 30th was a goodly maygame in Fenchurch-street, with drums, and guns, and pikes, and the " nine worthies," who rid, and each made his speech. There was also the morris dance, and an elephant and castle, and the lord and lady of the May appeared to make up this show.'

Cent. XVI. recollect that all the misfortunes of her mother and herself proceeded wholly from that source. Catharine of Arragon bred her up in a thorough attachment to her religion, and in horror to all heresies ; and when separated from her she confirmed her faith by letters. [32]

Prudence of Gardiner. It needed now a stronger power than that of the sagacious Gardiner, who was entrusted with the seals as chancellor,* to moderate the enterprising bigotry of the new queen. She would not wait the proper season, but pressed to hazard a rebellion by dashing down at once the whole system of reformation, and erecting on its ruins the most gross superstitions of the Papists. Gardiner, though fond of persecution, and that from systematic principle, on this occasion objected to it ; and by writing to the German emperor, and setting forth the great dangers to which too much haste would expose the kingdom, gained his suffrage ; this was sent by letter to the zealous queen, and she, respecting the emperor's advice, reined in her passion for a while, made Gardiner her chancellor, and moved only by his counsel.

As the queen had declared, at her first accession to the crown, that she would force no man's conscience in point of religion, there needed some provocation

NOTES.

[32] See the Appendix.

* Godwin de Praes. p. 333.

provocation to form an excuse for a change in her ^{Cent. XVI.} sentiments. A tumult happened opportunely at St. Paul's, where Bourne, a chaplain of Bishop Bonner, (now restored to his see of London) praised him highly in his sermon, and spoke harshly of the deceased Edward. This the spirit of the Londoners could not brook,* they hissed ^{Bishop} the imprudent orator, pelted him with stones and ^{Bonner's} chaplain brick-bats, and one of them darted a dagger at him ^{insulted.} with so good a will that it stuck fast in the pulpit behind him. The terrified preacher saved his life by stooping, but remained in extreme danger until he was relieved by the exertions of Rogers, and Bradford, two celebrated Protestant preachers, who protected him from the angry citizens, and safely conveyed him to his home.

Soon after this disturbance a proclamation was issued[†] by Mary, exhorting all parties to peaceable demeanor, and ‘to avoid ill names, such as Papist and Heretic;’ the promise of toleration was renewed, but tempered with this proviso, “until public order should be taken in it by common consent;” and the whole closed with a prohibition of ‘preaching or writing without a special licence for the same.’ Her next acts appear to have been ingratitude and insult to the <sup>Ingrati-
tude of
Mary.</sup> loyal men of Suffolk,[‡] an entire restoration of the prelates, such as Heath, Day, Bonner, &c.

who

* Holingshed, p. 1089.

+ Fox, vol. iii. p. 16, 17.

‡ Strype’s Mem. vol. iii. p. 52.

Cent. XVI. who had, on account of their religion, been ejected from their sees,* and the most ungrateful and undeserved imprisonment of Rogers and Bradford, who had hazarded their persons to save the life of Bourne at St. Paul's cross. ‘They could repress the rage of the populace in a moment,’ said the ill-reasoning queen, ‘doubtless they set it on.’ Her inexcusable treatment of Judge Hales† is mentioned below. [33] But Mary knew not what gratitude meant, as Cranmer and many others were doomed to experience.

Roman
Catholic
preachers
encour-
aged.

Gardiner being now appointed to distribute licences for preaching, the reformed clergy met, and agreed, that as they saw none licensed except determined Papists, they would hazard every thing rather than be lost in silence. Their churches were therefore kept open in spite of the royal prohibition, and the strongest arguments against the Popish cause might be heard from every pulpit.

Archbishop

NOTES.

[33] James Hales was the only one of the judges who had the resolution to refuse (although a Protestant) to sign the declaration in favor of Lady Jane Gray. This worthy man, nevertheless found himself so harrassed under the unfeeling Mary, by fines and other persecution, on account of his faith, that he lost his senses; and put an end to his life by drowning himself in a stream so shallow, that he had great difficulty in keeping his head under water.

[HOLINESHED.]

* Rym. Fœd. vol. xv. p. 337. † Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 248.

Archbishop Cranmer was soon after this pro- Cent. XVI.
Cranmer
declares
himself
averse
from the
mass. voked to stand forward by the taunts of Bonner [34] and others, who purposely mistook his mild behavior for an unlimited compliance with the religion of the court. He had been advised to fly, but refused; ‘since,’ he said, ‘he had been so much concerned in every measure of reformation, that his honor would not suffer him to stir from the scene of his exertions.’ He did more; irritated at the reports of his acquiescence, he drew up a paper, by the advice of Peter Martyr, in which he professed his own steadiness to the doctrines of Protestantism, and offered to defend them, in public, at any conference which might be appointed. Dr. Scory having shewed abroad copies of this declaration, Cranmer was cited before the star-chamber; where he avowed it, and expressed his wish that it had been posted up on St. Paul’s cross.

It may appear strange, that, after such an explicit avowal of adverse sentiments, Cranmer should have

NOTES.

[34] Bonner had much of the buffoon in his character, more indeed, than one would have thought could have been harbored with such steady inhumanity. A letter of his is extant, in which he puns on the name of *Shipside*, (Bishop Ridley’s steward) and exults on re-entering the see of London, vowed vengeance on the *sheeps heads* and *calves heads*. He mentions, also, his happiness at the approaching fall of Cranmer, whom he styles ‘Mr. Canterbury.’

Cent. XVI. have been dismissed in peace from the court. Yet so it was; and he owed his liberty to the unpitying Gardiner. That clear-sighted prelate, more politician than bigot, knew that the Archbishopric of Canterbury was intended for Cardinal Pole, the queen's favorite relation; and he dreaded the counsels of that devout prelate, when arrived at the primacy, as dangerous not only to his own private interest, but to the good of the nation; which, with all his faults, Gardiner seldom neglected. On this account he wished to preserve Cranmer as long as possible in his see; but all his measures were broken by the passionate resentment of Mary, who looked on the archbishop as the counsellor and cause of her mother's divorce; and had forgotten, that, when her stern father had thoughts of putting her to death [35] on her positive adherence to the mass, and when Norfolk and Gardiner stood by, not chusing by interposition to hazard their own interests with the capricious tyrant, Cranmer had interfered; and had saved her life, by painting her as young, indiscreet, and led away by her mother; and by describing the odious light in which such severity in a father would appear throughout Europe.*

**Protes-
tant bis-
hops im-
prisoned.**

In September, 1553, Cranmer and Latimer, the one the ornament, the other the bulwark of reformation,

NOTES.

[35] See Catharine of Arragon's letter in the Appendix.

* Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 240, 241.

formation, were sent to the Tower. Many Protestant preachers were at the same time imprisoned, [36] and soon after, the foreigners who had taken refuge in England on a religious account, seeing as black a cloud forming over their heads as that from which they had escaped, retreated to the continent. Among these were Alasco with his congregation, [37] and Peter Martyr. No obstacle was laid in the way of their departure.*

Many

NOTES.

[36] Most unfortunately the love of controversy accompanied the Protestant divines to their prisons. The arduous dispute concerning free-will and predestination was carried on with such animosity, that confessions were drawn up on both sides, and signed by numbers who were even at that time under sentence of death. Each party had the folly to exclaim aloud, that their antagonists would do more harm in the world than the Papists themselves; insomuch as their *example* was better, while their *doctrines* were equally bad. Their contentions even ran to such a height of phrenzy, that the keeper of the Marshalsea was often obliged to separate them.

The triumph which this petulant folly afforded to the Roman Catholics may easily be supposed. The Free-willers, as they were called, were led by Harry Hart, Trew, and Abingdon; they treated the Predestination-men with great rudeness; and it was in vain that the prelates imprisoned at Oxford wrote to their brethren in the Marshalsea to exhort them to peace.

[CLARK'S MARTYRS. HIST. OF PURITANS, &c.

[37] The church allotted to this congregation was taken from them, and they were desired to conform or depart. Alasco sailed with 170 of his people in two ships to Denmark.

As

* Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 250.

Cent. XVI.

Cent. XVI. Many Englishmen who had been active in the plans of reformation, and particularly several well-known ecclesiastics, among which we read the names of Cox, Sandys, Grindal, and Horn, followed the example of their foreign brethren, and emigrated to more friendly shores.
 Many reformers quit the realm.

On the 1st of October, Mary was crowned by Gardiner, supported by ten chosen bishops; among whom Day was selected as the best preacher, to pronounce the coronation sermon.

A parliament was now convened; in that the reformed prelates had but little strength. Many of them, indeed, were in actual confinement; the Archbishop of York had been just sent to prison; the two bishops Taylor and Harley came to the House of Peers, and meant to justify their proceedings; they were astonished at hearing sounds of a mass to the Holy Ghost performed before the house; they were not listened to, nor allowed to take their seats, and Taylor was driven with some violence to leave the house. This rough conduct in the ruling party gave almost universal displeasure to the nation.

The

NOTES.

As they could not accord in matters of religion with the Danes, they were directed to depart in forty-eight hours. Lubec, Wismar, Hamburgh, received them with equal inhospitality; nor did they find a resting-place for their wives and children until they reached Friesland.

[HIST. OF REL.]

The first interesting business of the senate was to Cent. XVI.
 reverse the declared illegitimacy of Henry VIII.'s Audacity
 marriage with Catharine. This Gardiner con- of Gar-
 trived, as he had promised to Mary, without the diner.
 intervention of the Pope ; and although himself
 had plotted the divorce long before Cranmer had
 interfered, and had pursued every possible me-
 thod to bring it forward, yet, with an audacity
 scarcely to be equalled, he made the new act speak
 of the corrupt means by which the opinions of
 the universities were procured, and threw the
 whole blame of declaring the marriage illegal on
 Cranmer alone. The Princess Elizabeth was left
 by this act in a state of illegitimacy, and the con-
 duct of the queen was from this time much less
 kind to her sister than hitherto it had been.

Mary had two eager pursuits at this juncture ; to reconcile England to the church of Rome, and to marry Philip the son of the German Emperor. For the first of these she employed with great secrecy Commendone, an Italian, who repaired to Rome and engaged the Pope (rather unwillingly, Message as the invitation was not sufficiently formal) to send Cardinal Pole to England as legate. But the subtle Gardiner discovered what was going on, and found means to represent at the Imperial court in how promising a state the affairs of the church and state now stood, and how very easily a crude mismanagement might destroy the hopeful fabric. Pole, he alleged, was a pious but a weak

Cent. XVI. man, and would hazard every thing to maintain the dignity of the papacy. It is not improbable that the politic bishop added an artful though groundless intimation, that Pole might become a dangerous rival to Philip in the heart of Mary; and that in such case a dispensation might easily be had at Rome for the cardinal to become a king.

The new legate was, in consequence of these hints, stopped under some plausible pretence at Dittingen * on the Danube, and Mary, acquiescing † without much persuasion in Gardiner's system of marrying before the ceremony of reconciliation with Rome, wrote to Pole to tell him the steps she had taken, and to advise him not at present to approach any nearer to England, ‡ since the report of his coming as legate had already hurt the Roman Catholic interest. Pole, who discerned the machinations of Gardiner, answered, by a long and cool epistle, ' he was displeased with her for being too much governed by carnal policy; saw through the Emperor's reasons for detaining him; advised her to shake off the supremacy with as much courage as her father had shewn in attaining it; and lamented lest the Pope, displeased at the treatment of his chosen legate, should

send

**Cardinal
Pole
made le-
gate.**

* Philips's Life of Pole, part ii. p. 30.

† Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 260, 261.

‡ Life of Pole, vol. ii. p. 30.

send to England an alien, who might treat the kingdom with more severity than he (Pole) found himself inclined to do.'

The devout queen [38] attended to his advice, and gave orders that none should any longer style her supreme head of the church.

The convocation was now called together; but, though great care had been taken that the members should be docile, yet there were six * who resisted the general turn of the assembly; these, being all deans or archdeacons, had a right to sit; and when Weston the prolocutor, whose chief vaunt was his having been in prison six years for his faith, proposed to condemn the lately-formed Liturgy, and its declarations as to the quality of

E E 2

the

 NOTES.

[38] It must have been with a design to share the warm beams of the rising sun that 'Syr William Forrest Preeiste,' chaplain to Queen Mary, published a panegyrical history of Queen Catharine and her patient suffering under Henry VIII. Speaking of her towardliness, when young, thus he sings:

'With stoole and needyl she was not to seeke,
And other practyseinges for ladyes meete;
To pastyme at tablès, tick-tacke or gleeke,
Cardys, dice, &c. &c.

Forest, it is probable, changed his faith with the times, as he had not long before dedicated fifty of David's Psalms to the protector Somerset. Little more is heard of him, except that, loving music, he carefully preserved several ancient MSS of Taverner, and others, which are still extant in the musical archives at Oxford.

* Hist. of Ref. vol. ii, p. 263.

~~Cent. XVI.~~ the Lord's Supper, these opposed the intended censure, and offered to dispute in favor of the points arraigned; the rest being unanimous for the condemnation, a disputation ensued; which, by several adjournments, was prolonged many days. Three of the six, Haddon, Ayimer, and Young, foreseeing the event from the violence and heat which burst out at the beginning of the debate, retired; but the others, Cheyney, Moreman, and Philpot, [39] although brow-beaten, interrupted, and frequently silenced, supported their arguments with such strength, that the prolocutor was heard to exclaim, at the close of the disputation, ‘Aye, but though *they* have the word, *we* have the sword.’*

The Latin service restored. On the 21st of December the service of the mass, in Latin, was restored throughout England; † and, on the 28th, Voysey was replaced in the see of Exeter: this act closed the proceedings of 1553.

The

NOTES.

[39] Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester, had his party been strongest, would probably have rivalled Gardiner in the race of persecution. Disputing once with an Arian, his over-abounding zeal prompted him to spit in his adversary's face. Finding his conduct blamed, he wrote a treatise in its defence, alleging, that such blasphemy as the heretic voided, could only be answered by an insult.

[STRYPE.]

* Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 247.

† Stowe, p. 617.

The rebellion of Wiatt * and his discomfiture, ^{Cent. XVI.} and the execution of the amiable and innocent usurper, Lady Jane Gray, found sufficient employment for the first three months of 1554.

The failure of an insurrection always strengthens the hands of that government which it was meant to destroy; and accordingly the measures of Gardiner acquired new force from Wiatt's fall. The deprivation of several Protestant bishops followed that event. This was grounded, with the most absurd injustice, on their having taken wives in consequence of the liberty allowed to them by successive acts of parliament. [40] On the whole, sixteen new prelates appeared in the house of lords.

The distribution of Spanish gold[†] (for 1,200,000 Spanish crowns were acknowledged to have been borrowed

by

NOTES.

[40] In justification of these proceedings many books were about this time published against clerical marriage, particularly one by Gardiner, under the name of Dr. Martin. As the doctor was a man of a very loose character, this work opened a torrent of bitter accusations against the Popish clergy. 'That kennel of the uncleanness,' says Bishop Burnet, 'of the priests and religious houses, was again, on this occasion, raked and exposed with too much indecency; for the married priests, being openly accused for the impurity and sensuality of their lives, thought it but a just piece of self-defence to turn these imputations back on those, who pretended to chastity, and yet led most irregular lives, under the appearance of that strictness.'

[HIST. OR REF.]

* Holingshed, p. 1095, 6, 7, &c.

† Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 286.

Cent. XVI. by the Emperor for the purpose) was now performed by Gardiner with so judicious a hand, that not less than four bills took their rise in the commons in one session, each aiming at the persecution of heretics. The house of peers, however, not being yet properly brought into order, flung out every one of them. Nor did the servility of the commons, although ready to countenance every degree of fanatic cruelty, and to join willingly in reconciling England to the church of Rome, produce any real profit to the papacy, for not an acre of consecrated property would they restore, nor allow one monastery or nunnery to be re-endowed with the revenues of which Henry or Edward had deprived it. On the other hand, the strongest possible ordinances were enacted to secure in the possession of such estates, those laymen to whom they had been appropriated.

Confe-
rence at
Oxford.

A polemic conference at Oxford* was now determined on ; and a detachment from the convocation, headed by Weston the prolocutor, repaired thither to meet [41] the Protestant champions.

NOTES.

[41] The prolocutor made an unlucky mistake at the setting out of the disputation. ‘ Ye are this day,’ said he, ‘ assembled to confound the detestable heresy of the verity of the body of Christ in the Sacrament.’ This error set the whole assembly into a paroxysm of laughter.

[HIST. OF R&P.]

* Fox, vol. ii. p. 44, &c.

pions. On the other hand, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, who had for some time been confined to one small room in the Tower of London, were led from the common jail at Oxford to manage the Protestant side of the controversy. The two first were much molested by the quotations from the fathers. They could not answer them, and yet knew not how to get rid of them. Latimer took a forcible, though simple, method. ‘I lay no stress on the fathers,’ said he, ‘unless when they lay stress on the Scripture.’ At length, over-powered by his antagonist’s volubility of tongue, the good prelate exclaimed, ‘If I can argue no longer for my religion, I yet can *die* for it.’ [42]

After

NOTES.

[42] It is acknowledged by the most candid writers, that the Roman Catholics had much the advantage in this dispute. It must have been so, where quotations from the fathers were allowed as arguments. For what answer can be made to the following extracts, except that of the good Latimer above recited? ‘What a miracle is this! He who sits above with the father, at the same instant is handled by the hands of men!’* Or again, from the same writer, ‘That which is in the cup is the same which flowed from the side of Christ.’ Or, ‘Because we abhor the eating of raw flesh, and especially human flesh, therefore it appeareth bread though it be flesh.’† Or to this, ‘Christ was carried in his own hands, when he said, “This is my body.”’‡ Or to this, ‘We are taught that when this nourishing food is consecrated, it becomes the body and blood

* St. Chrysostom.

+ Theophylact.

‡ St. Austin.

Cent. XVI.

After the close of the conference, the advocates for reformation were told by Weston, that they were defeated, and must recant their errors. To which Cranmer answered, that ‘if so, they were only defeated by the noise and revilings of their antagonists; four or five of them often speaking at once, so that it was utterly impracticable either to hear them or to answer them.’ Ridley [43] and Latimer said the same. They all refused to change their opinions, and were accordingly declared

NOTES.

blood of our Savior.* Or, lastly, to this from St. Ambrose, ‘It is bread before consecration, but after that ceremony it becomes the flesh of Christ.’

[GILPIN’S LATIMER.]

[43] ‘There was,’ says Ridley, in his account of the conference, ‘great disorder, perpetual shoutings, tauntings, and reproaches; so that it looked like a stage than a school of divines.’ He adds, that the noises and confusions with which he had been much offended in his youth at the Sorbonne, were modest, when compared to this.

[HIST. OF REF.]

The good old Latimer attended the conference most simply attired; his cap was buttoned under his chin, a pair of spectacles hung at his breast, a staff was in his hand, and the New Testament under his arm. ‘You must dispute,’ said the prolocutor, ‘next Wednesday morn.’ ‘I am as well qualified,’ answered the cheerful Latimer, shaking his palsied head, ‘to be governor of Calais. In this book,’ he added, ‘which, I have deliberately perused seven times, I can find no mention of the mass: neither its marrow-bones nor its sinews.’ This expression being supposed a ludicrous allusion to the doctrine of transubstantiation gave great offence, nor was Latimer permitted to explain it.

[GILPIN’S LATIMER.]

* Justin Martyr.

clared ‘obstinate heretics ;’ and kept in prison with great strictness, and restraint of all correspondence from without or with one another.

The loud and outrageous boasts of the convection concerning the victory which they pretended to have gained, having reached the ears of the Protestant divines imprisoned in London, they drew up and published a confession of their faith, and a declaration of their readiness to dispute in favor of every article therein contained.

The arrival of the Spanish Philip in England on the 20th of July, 1554, and his subsequent marriage with the queen of England, were events of such an interesting kind that they, for a short time, took off the minds of the nation from religious debates. Gardiner, who had alone brought about the marriage, was rewarded by the most implicit confidence placed in him by the royal pair. On his side the courtly bishop launched out from his pulpit in praise of the virtues and graces of the Spaniard, concluding with a trope which, in a more refined age, would affect the audience with disgust rather than conviction : ‘If he prove not what I say, I am content that ye shall esteem me an impudent lyar.’

The visitation of the new bishops [44] to their dioceses,

NOTES.

[44] The progress of Bonner was as usual strongly marked with buffoonery. At Hadham, finding neither sacramental bread,

Cent. XVI. dioceses, which took place in the summer of 1554, were chiefly employed in restoring old customs. They did not re-ordain those priests who had taken orders under Protestant prelates, but only ‘reconciled them to the church; and added the ceremonies which had been omitted, the anointing, putting on the vestments,’ &c. [45]

The

NOTES.

bread, nor a proper rood, he fell furiously on Dr. Bricket the priest, calling him ‘heretic, knave,’ &c. swearing at the same time most enormously. In vain did the priest, who knew his gluttonous turn, describe the dainties he had provided for his dinner. The bishop, blinded with anger, aimed a blow at Bricket, but struck the ear of Sir Thomas Josselyn, and nearly felled him; while the good-humored knight resented the unintentional affront only by wishing ‘that, when Bonner was taken out of the Marshalsea, he had been transferred to Bedlam.’ At other places the boisterous bishop was grossly lampooned for his follies and prejudices, and particularly for scraping from church walls all those scripture sentences which had been painted on them, and in their room substituting absurd groupes of ill-executed saints and martyrs.

[HIST. OF REF.

[45] It should seem that the church of Rome had no settled rule as to this circumstance. She always was wont to receive priests ordained in the Greek communion as regularly admitted; yet, during the contest between the popes and the pseudo-popes, in the early ages, the pontiffs did not even allow of each other’s ordination. They were more considerate in the schism between Rome and Avignon, and did not object to the mutual allowance of orders. In England, as farther progress was made in bigotry, and the bodies of heretics were brought to the stake, more rigor was used as to orders;

The attainder of Cardinal Pole being taken off ^{Cent. XVI.} by the parliament, and his presence no longer interfering with any powerful interest, he was invited to England from Brussels; and entered London without the legatine pomp, as it was England. Pole comes to England. doubted how it might be relished by the populace; yet he was received with some state, the Bishop of Durham and Lord Shrewsbury meeting him with the act in his favor* in their hands. Soon after his arrival, both houses of parliament being summoned to attend on the king and queen, Pole, in a long speech, declared the powers entrusted to him, and advised them, as the representatives of the nation, to be reconciled with the Roman Catholic church. [46] In a few days, the speaker having consulted with the commons on the measures to be pursued, a conference was held between the two houses, and they agreed to petition

NOTES.

orders; and the prelates who expired in flames were only degraded from the priesthood, and not from their episcopal dignity, which was supposed to be null, as conferred by heretical hands.

[HIST. OF REF.]

[46] The weak and vain Mary (who had for some time past fancied herself with child) thought that she felt the child stir in her womb at this invitation. Her women, whose absurd flattery had nursed up her idea of pregnancy, joined with the priest; and compared the springing of the child to that of John the Baptist, when his mother was saluted by the Blessed Virgin.

* Philips's Life of Pole, vol. ii. p. 78.

Cent. XVI. ~~England reconciled to the church of Rome.~~ tion the king and queen to be their advocates, that they might obtain the reconciliation which had been brought within their reach. They were then introduced to the royal presence, and, presenting the petition humbly on their knees,* were absolved in the fullest manner by the cardinal, who at the same time recapitulated to them ‘the services which the pope had done to England, &c.; the gift of Ireland by Adrian to Henry II.; the title of Defender of the Faith to Henry VIII. &c. He then shewed how Greece, since her schism, had been abandoned by God, and had fallen to the Mahometans; how distracted Germany had been with war, civil and foreign; and what tumults had arisen in England.’ The house then appointed a committee to prepare an act which might do away all the statutes that militated against the Romish faith.[47] And thus ended a day which can only be compared to that on which the unprincipled John yielded his crown to the legate of Innocent III. That king had on his side the excuse of urgent necessity; the commons that of a thorough habit of embracing any form of religion,

NOTES.

[47] Philips affirms, that the lords and commons embraced one another saying, ‘This day we are born again!’ A festival was assigned for this important event, and a book written upon the subject in Italian, named, ‘Il ritorno del regno d’Inghilterra.’

LIFE OF POLE.

* Philips Life of Pole, vol. ii. p. 80.

ligion, or government, which their superiors ^{Cent. XVI.} might wish them to adopt.

The Parliament now went on to form a law Church which might repeal every act in favor of reformation, taking great care, as it proceeded, to confirm the complete alienation of the abbey-lands, church estates, &c. and to leave them all in the hands of the laymen to whom they had been given. This apparently unjust decree was made more palatable by a most disinterested petition, which was sent from the convocation of the Canterbury diocese;* praying that, to prevent disputes, such estates might remain unclaimed by the church. The act condemns the royal supremacy, but confirms all its decrees: It likewise confirms all past marriages, settlements, and processes, and it suspends the mortmain act for twenty years.

To this act the cardinal acceded; strongly intimating at the same time, that the curse of heaven (as in the case of Belshazzar, whose father, not himself, had been guilty of the sacrilege) would pursue every man who should take advantage of this law to detain the property of the church; an intimation which seems to have affected no one person except the sincere, though deluded, Mary.[48]

The

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[48] The voice of the people was against the re-establishment of Popery, and many vulgar jokes explained the opinion of

* Life of Pole, vol. ii. p. 90.

Cent. XVI. The censures incurred by the clergy being of a different nature from those of the laity, the bishops

NOTES.

of the lower orders of society. To ridicule the priesthood, says Holingshed, ‘A cat with her head shorne, and the like-nesse of a rocket cast over her, with her fore feet tied together, and a round piece of paper, like a singing cake, being put between them, was hanged on a gallows in Cheape.’ Which cat was shewed to the Bishop of London, and he afterwards reproached the Dutchess of Suffolk as authoress of this low witicism. Soon afterwards, a remarkably gay rood having been set up in St. Paul’s with great and pompous ceremony, a merry fellow, making a very low obeysance, thus bespoke the image: ‘Sir, your maistership is welcome to towne. I see you bee clothed in the queene’s colours, so I hope ye be but a summer’s bird, as ye be drest in white and greene.’ As a crowd of people were present when this free joke was uttered with impunity, the sentiments of the Londoners, concerning image-worship, may be conjectured.

But the gibe which gave most diversion to the people was an artful conveyance of the holy wafer out of the pix, in which it had, according to custom, been deposited at the even-song of Good-Friday. In consequence when, on Easter Sunday morn, the choir sung out, ‘Surrexit, non est hic,’ ‘He is risen, he is not here,’ the singers’ words were made good; nor could the priest, to the infinite diversion of his immoral audience, find a hoste to elevate. On this subject a ballad was made, with this free burthen, ‘One God being stolen or lost, another was made in his room.’ Great rewards were offered by the clergy for the discovery of the impious bard; as well as of several others, who ridiculed the Latin service in a kind of Macaronic poetry.

Encouraged by the visible turn of the people, a girl, named Elizabeth Croft, acted the part of a demoniac; and made

bishops and priests all met in convocation ; and there, on their knees, received absolution, as their lay-brethren had done before them.* Cent. XVI.

These great events were notified to the court of Rome by three ambassadors, Lord Mountacute, the Bishop of Ely, and Sir Edward Karne.

The commons, as they had gone such lengths to establish their interest at court, determined not to stop before they had completed their work. They revived all the old persecuting statutes against Lollards, passed in the days of Richard II. Henry IV. and V.; and they would have rendered all the acts of married priests null and void had they not been checked by some of the landholders, who must have suffered essentially if that ill-judged bill had been carried. [49]

Gardiner

NOTES.

made her familiar, ‘the spirit in the wall,’ whistle out strange prophecies, in an uncouth tone, against Philip of Spain. But she was detected, and publicly exposed on a scaffold.

[HOLINGSHED. HIST. OF REF. &c.]

[49] It must astonish the reader to see so total a change in the sentiments of a great nation’s representatives, in so trifling a space of time as that between the last parliament of Edw. VI. and the first of Mary. But what will he say when he hears that two quotations, one from Bishop Burnet, the other from Bishop Taylor, are adduced by the artful Philips, in his Life of Cardinal Pole, (vol. ii. p. 85) to excuse this change; and indeed to give plausible reasons for it? Controversial writers should be very cautious of the “ Data” they allow;

* Life of Pole, vol. ii. p. 88.

Cent.XVI. Gardiner was now highly esteemed at court, for every measure which he had proposed had been attended with success; but the ferocity of his disposition was now to meet indulgence. It was to him that the counsels which stained the latter years of Mary's reign with blood were attributed; Gardiner's religion was only policy; yet did he countenance slaughter,* while Pole, (who shared with him the confidence of Mary) although zealously attached to every Popish tenet, is believed to have used all his interest in favor of mercy. 'Such,' says a modern writer, 'is the prevalence of *temper* above *system*.' Unhappily, Gardiner had most weight; and the standard of indiscriminate inhumanity only waited the opening of the next year to be widely displayed. Nothing indeed but cruelty could be expected under the rule of a fanatic, who, when she received the crown, had gloried in being styled 'a virgin sent from heaven to avenge the cause of God.'

At the beginning of 1555 all the bishops, and many of the clergy, went to Cardinal Pole (who, during the confinement of the primate, had taken possession of Lambeth) to receive his instructions.

They

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allow; too great advantages are often given that way to a subtle enemy; and a good cause irrecoverably hurt with honest but weak minds. The passage here referred to is well worth a perusal as a master piece of polemic subtlety.

* Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 278.

They were humane and worthy of his gentle turn ^{Cent. XVI.} of mind. He bade them treat their flocks with tenderness, and rather to make converts by example and instruction than by rigor. [50]

Little

NOTES.

[50] In this place an ingenious modern author amuses himself in supplying Gardiner and his friends with arguments to oppose the milder reasoning of the cardinal. That so much can be said for a bad cause will equally astonish and entertain the reader.

'The doctrine of liberty of conscience,' said the fancied arguer, 'is founded on the most flagrant impiety, and supposes such an indifference among all religions, such an obscurity in theological doctrines, as to render the church and the magistrate incapable of distinguishing with certainty the dictates of heaven from the mere fictions of human imagination. If the Divinity reveals principles to mankind, he will surely give a criterion by which they may be ascertained; and a prince who knowingly permits these principles to be perverted or adulterated, is more criminal than if he permitted poison to be sold to his subjects for bread. Persecution may, indeed, seem calculated rather to make hypocrites than converts; but experience shews, that often the habits of hypocrisy turn to real devotion, and that the children, at least, of such hypocrites, become frequently orthodox Christians. It is absurd to plead the temporal and trivial interests of civil society against considerations of such vast importance; and, besides, where sects arise, and with equal virulence execrate and damn each other, why should not the civil magistrate, for the public peace, support one and silence every other? An affected neutrality in the prince can only serve to keep alive the reciprocal animosity. The Protestants when in power shewed no mercy to those who followed the religion of their ancestors. They enacted severe, and, in

some

Cent. XVI.

Little availed the merciful legate's sincere request with a set of men devoted to their own interests, and determined to take whatever line of conduct the more effective favorite, Gardiner, should intimate; and his finger pointed at blood.

Persecution commences. Accordingly a series of barbarities came forward which, had it not been visibly the effect of religion wrongly understood, and fermented in the weak brain of a misled fanatic, might have prejudiced the national character of England; a country which may proudly say, that, setting aside the mistaken Mary's short but bitter phrenzy, it stands clear of the massacres and persecutions which have deformed the history of the other districts of Europe, and most of all those which have called themselves the most polished.

Thirty Protestants seized.

Thirty of the most known and steadiest Protestants had just then fallen into the hands of their enemies. They had been taken at a meeting near Bow church; where Rose, a minister, had given them the communion according to the service of

the

NOTES.

'Some instances, capital, punishments against them. And if any kind of persecution is to be admitted, the most bloody and violent will surely be allowed the most justifiable, as the most effectual. Imprisonments, fines, &c. serve only to irritate sectaries, without disabling them from resistance. But the stake, the wheel, and the gibbet, must soon terminate in the extirpation or banishment of all the heretics who are inclined to give disturbance; and in the entire silence and submission of the rest.'

[HUME'S TUDORS.]

the English Liturgy. These were brought before ^{Cent. XVI.} the council,* and persuaded to subscribe the Popish confession of faith; but none would be wrought upon. Rogers, who was the chief of the party, and who was particularly obnoxious for having published a revised edition of Tindal's Bible, asked Gardiner, 'Whether *he* had not preached against the Pope during best part of twenty years?' 'Yes,' said Gardiner, 'but I was forced to it by cruelty.' 'And will you then,' said Rogers, 'use that cruelty to *others*, of which *you* complain?' Gardiner avoided answering him, yet every one of the thirty were sent to prison; except one, whom the good-humored Lord Effingham saved by asking him, 'If he would be an honest man, as his father had been before him?' And on his saying 'Yes,' he sent him off hastily, as one that had answered to his satisfaction.

Not to dwell too long on so disgraceful and distressing a subject, those who suffered for their religion at this direful æra shall be thrown together with as much conciseness as possible.

The proto-martyr was Rogers, above-mentioned. He had been pressed to fly, but could not prevail on himself to leave his wife with ten children. He met his death with intrepidity. On petitioning Gardiner for a last interview with his wife,

~~Cent. XVI.~~ wife, he was insultingly told, ‘that being in orders, he *could have no wife.*’

Bishop Hooper* was burnt with green wood, and remained three quarters of an hour in torture; yet did he pray until his tongue was by the fire rendered useless.

Sanders, at Coventry, refused a pardon, and rapturously embraced the stake.

A poor weaver had his beard torn off, and his hand consumed in the flames of a candle, by the brutal Bonner, before his final punishment.

Ferrar, Bishop of St. David’s, a man of strange and affected singularity, suffered at the stake with great intrepidity.

Rawlins White was burnt at Cardiff for having sent his son to school that he might learn to read the bible to him.

One Hunter had absconded, fearing the vengeance of Bonner, for a trifling but heretical lapse in conversation. Bonner seized and menaced the father of Hunter; the good young man, to save his parent, delivered up himself, and perished in the flames.

Thomas Haukes stretched out his arms when in the agonies of a fiery death; a signal he had agreed to make if he found consolation in his torture. This circumstance had an incredible effect in confirming the faith of many.

Taylor,

* Fox, vol. iii. p. 145.

Taylor,* the venerable priest of Hadley, being ^{Cent.XVI} tied to the stake in his own parish, was severely wounded by a faggot thrown by one who stood by ; to whom the meek sufferer only said, ‘ Oh, friend, I have enough ! What needed that ?’

George March, a priest, was burnt at Chester, where, with a refinement of cruelty, there was placed over his head a pot of pitch to melt and scald him as it fell.

One named Flower, who suffered in the church-yard of Westminster-Abbey, deserved the least share of pity, as he had madly and wickedly wounded a priest, while celebrating the mass ; at first he gloried in the deed ; but being soon convinced by his brethren of his crime, he lamented it bitterly ; and died a sincere penitent.

From this horrid picture let us turn away our eyes for a moment, and view the follies of the sincere though deluded Mary. Flattered by the women about her, she had conceived herself near her delivery ; and in order to lighten her ^{Mary's} conscience against that awful time, she had sent for ^{fancied} her great officers,† and told them, ‘ that she was ^{pregnan-} cy. determined to deliver up all the church lands which the crown possessed to the legate, for religious uses. That, it was true, the crown would be impoverished ; but that her soul was of more value than ten crowns.’

Notwithstanding

* Fox, vol. iii. p. 166.

† Ibid. p. 221. Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 308.

Cent. XVI.

Notwithstanding this propitiation, Mary's error was soon apparent; yet, not before many zealous Papists had exposed their sanguine and ridiculous credulity.[51]

The time was now come that the venerable Latimer[52] should be brought to confirm, by his patient and instructive death, those truths during

NOTES.

[51] Bishop Burnet had seen a letter from the Bishop of Norwich to the Lord Sussex, in which he asserts that the queen was brought to bed of a 'noble prince;' for which he had ordered 'Te Deum' to be sung in his cathedral, and the other churches in Norwich.

[HIST. OF REF.]

[52] Hugh Latimer, the most spirited of English reformers, was born at Thirkesson, Leicestershire, in 1470, of an honest yeoman's family; and bred at Cambridge, where, after beginning his clerical course as a violent Papist, he became a most zealous preacher on the side of Protestantism. Recommended by Cromwell to the bishopric of Worcester (after having suffered much persecution) he retained it not long; for, on the passing of the 'bloody act,' in 1589, he retired to his friend Cranmer's dwelling, and resigned his see with a cheerfulness bordering on levity; for he sprang up, and congratulated himself on the lightness he felt on quitting his episcopal vestments. Called forth again on the accession of Edward VI. and refusing to resume his see, he was appointed to an important and dangerous post, that of preacher to the court. Of this task he acquitted himself with incredible intrepidity; he spared neither the profligate minister, the partial judge, the indolent priest, nor even the misguided infant king; yet he continued court preacher until the fall of his friend and protector Somerset. He then withdrew to his diocese, where he continued until he was called on by the bigot Mary to suffer at the stake.

[GILPIN'S LATIMER.]

which during his life, he had with so much zeal ^{Cent. XVI.} and success supported. The sincerity of his heart, and the simplicity of his manners, merited for his last hours such a companion as Ridley, Bishop ^{Two bi-} of London: perhaps the most eminent of all those ^{shops doomed} who assisted the reformation, in piety, learning, ^{to the} and firmness of mind. Three bishops sat in Ox- ^{flames.} ford to judge them; they condemned them for heresy; and, after allowing them one night's consideration, delivered them over to the secular arm as obstinate heretics.

Neither the spirit of Latimer nor his good humor forsook him to the last. Passing through ^{Firmness of Latimer.} Smithfield, when brought up to his martyrdom, ‘This place,’ said he, ‘has long groaned for me.’ When interrupted in his defence by Dr. Weston, he said warmly, ‘I have spoken in my time before two kings, and have been heard some hours together; and now I may not speak for one quarter of an hour!’ When in prison, being severely treated in winter, he sent word to his keeper, that ‘if he took no better care he should escape him.’ The keeper in a fright asked How? ‘Why,’ answered Latimer, ‘if you will not afford me a faggot, I shall be starved to death with cold, and not burnt as my sentence runs.’ After he was fastened to the stake his last words to his fellow-sufferer, the Bishop of London, were these, ‘This day we shall light such a flame in England as, I trust, shall never be extinguished.’*

Ridley’s

* Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 295.

Cent.XVI. Ridley's deportment was equally composed And of and intrepid. 'Be of good heart, brother,' said Ridley. he to Latimer, 'God will either assuage the fury of the flames, or enable us to abide it.' A bag of gunpowder kindly placed near the head of Latimer finished his pains, but Ridley was long tortured.

The death of Latimer was oddly accompanied by that of the bitterest foe of him and of the Protestant religion, Bishop Gardiner.* On the 9th of November, 1555, that resolute persecutor refused to have his dinner served up until a messenger should arrive to tell him that fire was set to the faggots of Latimer and Ridley, although the good old Duke of Norfolk was his guest. Him he kept waiting for his meal, 'until three or four o'clock,' when the desired intelligence arrived. Even then the persecutor was not destined to enjoy his dinner. He fell suddenly [53]

ill

NOTES.

[53] Bishop Poinet, who succeeded to the see of Winton, thus paints his predecessor: 'He had a swarthy color, hanging look, frowning brows, eyes deep in his head, wide nostrils, sparrow mouth, great hands, and long talons on his toes which made him go awkwardly.' Gardiner is believed to have been the natural son of Richard de Wideville, brother to Elizabeth, consort to Edward IV. He was a great and not unpatriotic statesman, but perverse and pitiless. Perpetually did he persuade Mary to destroy her sister, who, he foresaw, would reverse all she had done. He died in agonies

* Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 298.

ill of a suppression of urine, lay in torture fifteen days, and then died. The times were superstitious and the reflections made on this seasonable death may be easily imagined.

Cent.XVI.

Death of
Gardiner.

It

NOTES.

agonies of repentance, crying, ‘I have sinned with Peter, but I have not wept with him!’ Two elegies, strongly expressive of the different lights in which he was seen by different parties, may be found in Dr. Harrington’s *Nugæ Antiquæ*. They begin thus:

Pro, by Mr. Prideaux.

‘ The saints in heaven rejoice,
This earth and we may waile,
Sith they have won, and we have lost,
The guide of our avile.

Tho’ death hath loosed life,
Yet death could not deface
His worthy work, his stayed state,
Nor yet his gifts of grace,’ &c.

Contra, by an Ill-willer.

‘ The dev’ls in hell do dance,
This realm and we may joy,
Since they have got, and we forgone,
The cause of our annoy.

Though death hath wip’d out life,
Yet death cannot outrace
His wicked works, usurped state,
Nor faults of his, deface,’ &c.

When Gardiner first recommended persecution, he thought that a few striking examples would cause a general recantation; but when he found his error, he left the weight of cruelty on the willing shoulders of Bonner, who was wont to say, ‘ Let me once lay hold of these heretics, and, if they escape me, God do so and more to Bonner!’

Cent.XVI.
Rise of
Purita-
nism.

It was about this time, or early in 1556, that the schism between the episcopalians of England and the non-conformists, soon after styled Puritans, first broke out.

Numbers of British (for John Knox was among them) exiles met at Frankfort, and wished to celebrate divine service according to the Protestant rite, but could not agree as to the mode. At length, however, being admitted to a participation of the French church, and allowed to perform divine worship as they pleased at stated times, they agreed not to use the Litany or the surplice, and not to answer the minister; and, having settled these points, they went on peaceably until the arrival of Dr. Cox, a high-spirited exile, once tutor to Edward VI. and an admirer of the original Liturgy. He attended the service with a number of orthodox comrades, distressed the reader by answering him aloud, and at length placed in the desk a resolute priest, who wore a surplice, and pronounced the whole of the Litany. Important contests for those who had lost their country, their friends, their estates !

Numbers
suffer at
the stake

To proceed with the painful lists of equally sincere, though not perhaps equally interesting, sufferers : One Bambridge, in Hants, unable to bear the fire, recanted, and was taken from the stake. An order of council, however, sent him again to the flames, and imprisoned the sheriff for having reprieved him. Toole, who was hanged

ed for robbery, having bordered on heresy in his ^{Cent. XVI.} dying words, had his body consumed by fire. Thirteen persons were burnt at once at Stratford-le-Bow, in Essex. Bradford too was burnt, although he, with the respectable Rogers, had saved, in a popular tumult, the life of Bourne, now Bishop of Bath and Wells.*

Enough has been said on the subject so disgusting; unhappily it would afford materials for a much longer account. Above thirty other persons [54] suffered by the flames, during the autumn of 1555, in different country towns, besides six that were burnt in one fire at Canterbury.

The persons condemned to these punishments (observes Mr. Hume) were not convicted of teaching

NOTES.

[54] Many of those who suffered at the stake were young people; and it was observable, that the younger were frequently the more eager, and the steadier, converts to reformation. Conformably to this idea, the devil is made, in a drama nearly of Mary's epoch, to attribute the defection from Popery to the young:

' The ould peopel wolde beleve still in my lawes,
But the yonger sorte lead them a contrary waye;
They wyll not beleve, they plainley saye,
In oulde tradytions made by men,
But they wyll b'leve as scripture teacheth them.'

And, a little farther, Hypocrisie remarks, that

' The worlde was never so merye
Since chyldren were so bolde.
Now every boy will be a teacher;
The father a foole—the chylde a preacher.'

* Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 291.

Cent. XVI. ing or dogmatizing contrary to the established religion. They were seized merely on suspicion; and, articles being offered to them for subscription, they were instantly on their refusal condemned to the flames. Each martyrdom was, from the constancy of the sufferers, equivalent to a hundred sermons against Popery; and men either avoided such horrid spectacles, or returned from them full of a violent, though secret, indignation against the persecutors.

Such scenes odious to the nation.

It was not, indeed, without evident signs of disgust [55] that the nation beheld these repeated scenes of inhumanity. Even Gardiner had endeavored to throw the blame of the horrors he had counselled on the queen; but it was Philip on whom the odium chiefly rested. Bred up under a persecuting father, accustomed to the cruelties of the inquisition, and to the principles of the Duke of Alva, such proceedings might naturally be expected

NOTES.

[55] One circumstance was thought a great addition to the general inhumanity of the times. After the condemnation of those who were sent into the country to be burnt, they were told by the council that they must be silent at their execution, otherwise they would have their tongues cut out on the spot.

[HIST. OF REF.]

Many letters were written from court to exhort all persons to attend the executions; and the council, being informed that some Essex gentlemen had ‘honestly, and of their own accord,’ attended a great and horrid exhibition of this kind at Colchester, condescended to send them a letter of thanks. [IBID.]

pected from him. This conclusion he dreaded,^{*} ~~Cent. XVI.~~ as it might expose him to the resentment of the people, and eventually endanger the little interest which he had in England. On this account he directed Father Alphonso, his confessor, to preach a sermon against violent measures with heretics; an argument so strange from the mouth of a Spaniard, that it made the ardor of the English bishops cool for a while; but, after a few weeks, they proceeded again with such vigor that even Bonner [56] hesitated to obey their directions, and needed a letter from court to inspire him with new resolution.

About the same time Mary received a book from Germany, well and firmly written, admonishing

NOTES.

[56] The horror in which that inhuman prelate was held by the suffering Protestants, gave occasion to the most bitter invectives against him. A pedigree was about this time handed about in MS, and in 1569 was printed. Part of it ran thus: ‘Hereafter do follow a linial pedigree of Boner’s kindred, a man of a great house long before the captivitè of Babylone. Bastard Edmonde Savage, beyng a great lubberly scholar, was supposed to be the son of one Boner, which was the son of a jugler, or wyld roge; which was the son of a villayn in grosse; which was the son of a cut-purse; which was the son of Tom o’Bedlam, &c. &c. Colonel Antichrist, t.e. son of the devel, of iniquitie, of perdition, the cause of all ignorance, insidelitie, simonie, treason, idolatrie, persecution, rebeilion, wicked assemblie, and, finally, everlasting damnation.’ This specimen will probably be thought a sufficient taste of antient ribaldry and abuse.

[EPITAPH, &c. ON BONNER. Printed by John Alde, 1569.

* Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 284.

Cent. XVI. nishing her of the injustice, as well as cruelty, of her proceedings; reminding her of Cranmer's merits; and of the very moderate manner in which her brother Edward had changed the religion of the kingdom. He had indeed ejected many priests from their sees, but had hurt not one of them. It closed by conjuring the queen to treat her own subjects, at least, with the same kindness which foreigners had experienced at his hands, and permit them to depart the realm in peace, if they chose rather to quit their country than their religion. The present was fruitless; bigots are not to be convinced by argument.

Gardiner's inner-sincerity exposed. It was but a little before his death that Bishop Gardiner had been more severely treated. He had published a book, entitled, 'True Obedience,' in the reign of Henry VIII. armed with sturdy arguments against the pope's supremacy, against the union with Catharine, which he styled 'incestuous and unlawful,' and in praise of Henry, for marrying 'his godly and virtuous wife, Queen Anne.' This performance was now re-printed at Strasburgh, imported to England, and sent abroad among the people; to the utter confusion of the double-faced author.*

The commons, which met late in 1555, were not pleased with the queen's cession of the church-lands, and of the first-fruits of benefices, of which she

* Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 278.

she told them she could not in conscience make use. They parted in ill-humor, as they knew that they must make up the deficiency.

At this period Cardinal Pole, having licence from the queen to hold a synod, explained to the clergy his plan for reformation of the church, which appears to have been moderate, and less tending towards persecution than could well be expected, considering the age in which he lived, and the court in which he had been bred.*

The year 1555 closed with the burning of three persons at Canterbury, and of the passionate disputant Archdeacon Philpot, who suffered in Smithfield. These completed the number of sixty-seven who had fallen in that year for their adherence to the Protestant doctrine, among whom four were bishops, and thirteen priests.

The next year commenced with the long-expected doom of Archbishop Cranmer. Gardiner, who, from interested reasons, had prolonged his life, was now departed; and Cardinal Pole [57] does

NOTES.

[57] As the character of Pole was rather amiable than otherwise, we must not have so little charity as to suppose him a bitter enemy to the Archbishop, when he wrote to him, and called God to witness the truth of what he wrote, that ‘could he but deliver him from the fatal doom which impended over both his body and soul, he would prefer that gratification to all the riches and honors which this world could bestow.’

[*Quirini's Collection of Pole's Letters.*]

* Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 201.

Cent. XVI. does not appear to have interfered in the matter.

The trial of Cranmer was carried on with greater dignity than rationality. A commission was sent from Rome on purpose. He was cited in form to appear in 80 days before the Papal tribunal, and on his non-appearance (he was then in prison) he was delivered over to the secular arm as a contumacious heretic.

The ceremony of degradation was performed by Bishop Thirlby, who, recollecting that Cranmer had been his only patron and friend, burst into tears, and needed an exhortation from the meek primate to enable him to perform his duty. When degraded he walked through [58] Oxford with a townsman's cap on his head, while the petulant buffoon, Bishop Bonner, frolicked behind him, crying aloud, 'He is no longer my lord! he is no longer my lord!'

The circumstances which attended the last hours of this great but not perfect man, have been told in

NOTES.

[58] Bonner's scurrilous ribaldry peeped out even in the speech which he made in public on Cranmer's degradation. 'This is he that despised the pope,' said the exulting buffoon; 'lo! he is judged by the pope! He pulled down churches, and 'lo! he is judged in a church!' &c. &c.; while the gentler Thirlby, shocked at the brutal mirth of his comrade, frequently admonished him of his misconduct by pulling his sleeve.

[HIST. OF REF. &c. &c.]

in another place. The benefits which England ^{Cent. XVI.} reaped through his means are in some degree re-
paid by the universal respect paid to his memory,
and by the gentle manner in which the frailty of
those hours is ever recorded by the historians of
his country. [59]

The Archbishopric of Canterbury was imme-
diately given to Cardinal Pole, although much
against the will of the Pope, who had some par-
ticular reasons to dislike that moderate and decent
prelate.

Several religious houses were at this time re-
founded by the queen,* but none that were ex-
pensive. Glastonbury was thought of, but was
probably

NOTES.

[59] Thomas Cranmer was born at Ashlacton in Notting-
hamshire, was bred at Jesus College, Cambridge, and com-
menced D. D. in 1523. How he became a principal agent in
the divorce of Queen Catharine has been mentioned, and how,
consequently, he rose to preferment. He was learned, devout,
and in general, moderate. But in the 16th century there was
no religion without some turn to persecution.

Cranmer was charitable, mild, and hospitable; his manners converted many of his foes to friends; and he never made an enemy by his conduct in private life. He left a wife and children not ill provided for; but as he was obliged to keep them obscurely, little has transpired concerning them.

The palace of Cranmer was the general asylum of distressed literature. Bucer, Fagius, Sleidan, Peter Martyr, Alasco, and a learned Scot named Aless, all found maintenance and re-
pose at Lambeth.

* Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 317.

Cent. XVI.: probably too costly. A step, however, was now taken essentially in favor of monastic institution, and that was the total destruction of every record which could be found concerning the abuses discovered in religious houses by the visitors appointed by Henry VIII.

Victims increase. Persecution still proceeded with faggots and fire-brands in her train. Eighty-five persons suffered at the stake in 1556, and all with equal calmness and intrepidity; avowing, even while their sinews were shrinking, and their flesh consuming by the flames, their thorough resignation to the will of Heaven, and their triumphant joy in the cause they died for.

Horrid instance of bigot cruelty. To crown this painful detail with a deed almost too horrid for the pen, it must be told, that a mother and her two daughters being at the stake in Guernsey, a child, with which one of them was pregnant, burst from the womb of the agonizing parent, and was with difficulty saved from the fire by a stander-by. A magistrate, however, being consulted, the infant was, by his order, re-committed to the flames, and perished with its wretched mother.

Intrepidity of the re-forming teachers. Little did the heat of persecution avail to the cause of popery. Under the veil of caution the reformed increased in numbers, and persisted with intrepidity in hearing those ministers whom they had chosen. Of these gallant men who braved every danger that they might preserve their flocks

in

in purity, we find the names of Scambler and Bentham, (afterwards made bishops by Elizabeth) Foule, Bernher, and Rough, a Scot, who fell into the hands of Bonner, and perished at the stake. Those who fled for their religion went to Frankfort, Geneva, &c. and seem to have employed their polemic abilities more in prizing the worth of the English Liturgy, against the prayers used in the towns where they sought refuge, than in supporting the general system against the common enemy.

At a visitation of Cambridge, early in 1557,* Oxford the churches of St. Mary and St. Michael were put under an interdict for containing the buried bodies of Bucer and Fagius. Anxious to redeem their honor, the accused churches sent out their dead to suffer judgment. The offensive remnants were delivered over to the secular power ; and, standing mute, were condemned to the flames, together with many heretical books.

The same visitors proceeded at Oxford against the body of Peter Martyr's wife; but as she, when alive, could speak no English, no one could testify that she had uttered any sentiment contrary to orthodoxy. By this accidental advantage her bones escaped the flames, but not the ignominy of being taken out of the church, and being buried in a dunghill; because the body of St. Fride-

Cent. XVI. swide lay in the same repository,[60] which was judged not becoming.*

Towards the middle of 1557 great complaints were made to the council of the extreme indifference shewn [61] by the county magistrates, to the orders for searching out and apprehending heretics. It was this charge, together with the increasing frowardness of the disappointed queen, which produced the last and most arbitrary of Mary's measures in favor of Popery; viz.

Imitation of the Spanish Inquisition. the institution by her prerogative, of a court consisting of twenty-one persons, any three of whom might act with powers unlimited, to search into the actions and religious opinions of her subjects.

The Spanish inquisition had hardly greater or

more

NOTES.

[60] On the accession of Elizabeth the students of Oxford took the remains of Peter Martyr's wife, which had been thus ignominiously removed, and placed them in the same tomb with the ashes of St. Frideswide, with the following inscription, which Sanders the Jesuit styles, ‘Epitaphium impium:’

‘ Hic requiescit religio cum superstitione.’

[61] They were sometimes harsh enough in the distant districts, as in the case of Joan Waste of Derby, a poor blind girl aged 22, whose industry and filial affection had surmounted the loss of sight, and had enabled her to assist her father in supporting himself by rope-making. Accused of denying the real presence, this harmless young woman was borne to the stake, and died with undaunted serenity.

[HUTTON'S DERBY, &c.]

* Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 322.

more odious powers than this judicature were ^{Cent. XVI.} permitted to assume.

There was little need to complain of remissness in the persecution. During the course of 1557, seventy-nine persons, of various sexes and conditions, suffered death by fire for their religion. And it is possible that the fierceness of these flames, and the council's dread of being thought partial, occasioned the death of Lord Stourton.* He had committed a most inhuman murther, and staid coolly at home setting the laws at defiance, depending on that interest in the council which his zeal for the Roman Catholic religion had gained. How he found his error, is told in another place.

The parliament sat on an early day in 1558; and Dr. Feckenham, the abbot of Westminster, together with Tresham, Prior of St. John's, took their places in the upper house as peers. As soon as that assembly broke up, the persecution began again with more violence than ever. A proclamation was issued, at a time when seven Inhuman were led out to be burnt at once in Smithfield, ^{proclamation.} ‘that no man should pray for the victims, should speak to them, or say, “God help them!”’ It was also proclaimed, in the true spirit of the Inquisition, that whoever should possess any book of heresy, treason, or sedition, and should not instantly

* Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 325.

Cent. XVI. instantly burn it without reading it or shewing it to any one, should be accounted a rebel, and perish by martial law.* Besides this it was remarked, that punishment more than conversion was now the point in view; for a magistrate was imprisoned in the Fleet for saving a heretic from the flames on his recanting as soon as he felt the force of the fire.

Bonner was now almost sated with the cries of suffering martyrs, and is said even to have released a dozen or two of sturdy heretics unconvinced, after having indulged his natural propensity to inhumanity, by whipping them with great severity.

On the whole, thirty-nine Protestants were burnt [62] in 1558, which, with those which had suffered

Summary
of Pro-
testant
martyrs.

NOTES.

[62] ‘This persevering cruelty,’ says an elegant modern historian, ‘appears astonishing, yet it is nothing to what has been practised in other countries. Father Paul computes that, in the Low Countries alone, from the time that the edict of Charles V. was published against the reformers, there had been fifty thousand persons hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burnt, on account of religion.’

[HUME.]

To this observation let us add a singular computation which may be found in a French treatise, entitled, ‘Les Secrets des Finances, par Froumentea.’ This curious calculator asserts that, during the first twenty years of the French civil wars on account of religion, there were slain 765,200 persons; that 12,300 females suffered violation; and that 128,256 houses were burnt or destroyed! Yet did these wars endure twenty more years after the date of Froumentea’s remark; and, as they were supported with equal fury, it is probable that there were as many sufferers.

* Heylyn, p. 79.

suffered before in the same reign, made up the ^{Cent. XVI.} number of martyrs for their faith 284.* Sixty-four more suffered persecution, of whom seven were whipped, and twelve died in prison.

The reign of bigotry was well nigh ended in England. The autumn had been uncommonly sickly, and Mary, who had been for some time in an ill state of health, found her health as well as her spirits destroyed by the repeated strokes of ill fortune which had attended her. The mistake concerning her pregnancy; the visible neglect with which her husband had treated her; the loss of Calais; and the extreme obstinacy of her subjects, whose attachment to the reformation was visibly increased by every step which she took to eradicate it; all these evils had overpowered her naturally resolute mind. A dropsy added its force; and the hated and broken-hearted sovereign expired. Within sixteen hours she was followed to the grave by her relation Cardinal Pole;†[63] to whose mild counsels had she paid due

<sup>Death of
Q. Mary.
And of
Cardinal
Pole.</sup>

NOTES.

[63] Cardinal Pole might have been Pope in 1550; but as the choice had been made at midnight, he declined the offer until it should be confirmed by day-light, saying, ‘This should not be a work of darkness.’ The electors retired and chose the Cardinal del Monte. With great gentleness of manners and modesty, Pole had abilities and literature; he was intimate

with

* Coll. vol. ii. p. 397. Strype, vol. iii. p. 473. Speed, p. 826.

+ Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 343.

Cent. XVI. due attention, she might perhaps have shared with her sister and successor, Elizabeth, the affectionate remembrance of a grateful nation.

Joy at the accession of Elizabeth. The unusually great acclamations and inordinate joy of the English people, at the accession of Elizabeth, (which occurred on the 17th of November, 1558) formed a severe satire on the preceding government. Policy, at the commencement

NOTES.

with Sadolet, Bembo, and every man of learning in Italy; although not free from a tincture of bigotry, yet he disapproved of the cruelties exercised in the reign of Mary. His mild administration at Viterbo, and other places where heresy was supposed to abound, made him be suspected of holding doctrines unfriendly to the Papal creed, and the proud, despotic Pope Paul IV. in consequence declared himself his enemy; but the steady affection of Mary supported him in the legatine station. She even dared to intercept and detain the Pope's letter of recall, until she had, by a spirited declaration of her sentiments at the court of Rome, obtained a confirmation of his authority. In fine, Bishop Burnet writes of this worthy cardinal, that 'he was a learned, modest, humble, good-natured man'; and adds, that, had his advice been followed by the queen, the Pope, and the bishops, he might have done much towards reducing England again to the Roman Catholic faith,

[HIST. OF REF. GRAINGER. PHILIPS.]

Pole left his whole fortune, a few legacies to servants excepted, to his friend Aloysio Priuli, a learned Venetian, who had been attached to him during many years. But the generous legatee refused the bequest, and only accepted the breviary which the cardinal had always used, dividing the rest among the dependents of his departed friend.

[PHILIPS, &c.]

ment of her reign, persuaded the new queen to compliment every sovereign, even the Pope, by the resident ambassador. But the violent Paul gave her no opportunity of keeping measures; he raved at her insolence in assuming the regal authority; and only gave her distant hopes of his favor, on her entire submission to his dictates.* This folly urged the queen to recal the English envoy, Sir Edmund Karne; but he, having acquired an office of honor and profit at Rome, chose to stay there, and enjoy his own manner of worship, unmolested.

The prudence of Elizabeth prevented her from taking too hasty measures in favor of a religion which she not only loved, but looked on as finally to be indispensably connected with her interest; and she retained for a while all her sister's counsellors, only mingling with them a few, of whom she had a better opinion than of the rigid Papists, or the time-servers. She set at liberty, however, all those who had been thrown into prison on a religious account; but made no other declaration of her own sentiments.

The consultations which were held on the properest method of re-establishing Protestantism in England, were long and important. [64]

We

NOTES.

[64] The persons appointed to consult on the steps to be taken as to religion, seem to have been the Lords Northampton,

ton,

* Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 374.

Cent. XVI. We are in possession of a paper* which sums up the whole result of the conference, and points out, with due caution, the intended steps; but the people were too eager for a new change, to wait the signal of authority. Refugees, irritated by exile, flocked from the continent; and those who had concealed themselves in England, now walked abroad. The churches in many places were crowded with Protestants; and the service of Edward VI. reared its head, threw down the images, and expelled the mass-priests. Encouraged with this tacit declaration of sentiments, similar to her own, the queen ordered that the Gospels and Epistles, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Ten Commandments, should be read in English in all places of worship; but prohibited any other alteration until the meeting of parliament. She soon found how pleasing these directions appeared to the generality of her people, and particularly to the inhabitants of her metropolis. Among other tokens it was remarked, that, when passing under a triumphal

NOTES.

ton, Bedford, Pembroke, and John Gray. That Pembroke should be one seems strange; he had been the foremost in raising Mary to the throne, and supporting her measures; and had wickedly and meanly deserted his betrothed (and some say wedded) spouse, the sister of Lady Jane Grey; only because her family was out of favor at court.

* Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 376, 377.

a triumphal arch erected by the city of London, ^{Cent. XVI.} she was presented, by a cherub descending from above in the character of Truth, with an English copy of the Bible ; she received it most graciously, kissed it, and placed it in her bosom.

The translation of the Bible into English was at this juncture oddly recommended to the queen by one Rainsford, a Protestant, whom she had released, who implored her pity for four other prisoners, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Elizabeth, not displeased at the quaint idea, smiled and told him, that she must first enquire of these captives whether or no *they wished to be released.*

Many sees were vacant ; Camden says, that, Dr. Parker raised to the see of Canterbury. when the parliament met, there were but fourteen bishops alive. For the primacy Dr. Parker was proposed, a learned and pious clergyman, who had been chaplain to Anne Boleyn, and by her had been conjured to keep her daughter Elizabeth steady in point of religion. He had performed his trust faithfully, and had with great peril escaped the flames in the reign of Mary. It was not till the close of 1559* that he was placed in the see of Canterbury ; nor was it then without real difficulty that he could be brought to accept that high station.

Early in 1559 Elizabeth was crowned† by Elizabeth Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, the only one of ^{crowned.}

Mary's

* Life of Archbishop M. Parker, p. 38, 60, 61.

† Rym. Fœd. vol. xv. p. 494, 499.

Cent. XVI. Mary's prelates that would solemnize that rite for a queen who, they plainly perceived, meant to eradicate their religion from her realm. Two of these prelates whom Edward VI. had consecrated were indeed in the kingdom; but to have so awful a rite performed by a bishop actually in office, it was thought, would have the best effect. The other prelates, having most of them changed their faith four times already, seem to have at length felt shame at the approach of a fifth apostacy.

The Parliament, which met in January, restored to the crown* the supremacy of the church, the right of appointing bishops, the first-fruits, and all the advantages which it enjoyed in the reign of Edward VI. It revived the statutes which separated all ecclesiastical matters from the pope's jurisdiction; and guarded against too sudden innovations, by reviving an early law of Edward VI. made against speaking irreverently of the sacraments, &c.

The bishops of Mary's appointment hotly opposed the regal supremacy, but in vain. The good Tonstal of Durham, who had never dipped his hands in blood was not present; and great hopes were entertained, from the known gentleness of his character, that he would join the new interest; but, whether from conviction, or from

a delicacy

* D'Ewes's Journal, p. 19.

a delicacy which repugned at a new change of ^{Cent. XVI.} principle, he chose rather to resign his see.

The Roman Catholics submitted not quietly Preach-
to their destiny ; their priests vented their resent-^{ing silenc-}
ments in most uncharitable and disrespectful ser-^{ed for a} while.
mons ; and, in consequence, all performance of
divine service (unless licensed) was ordered to
stop, as had been enacted at each former change
of national religion.

Another step, usual on such junctures, fol- A disputa-
lowed—the appointment of a conference at West-^{tation at}
minster-Abbey between the teachers of both re-^{West-}
ligions. They met, and Dr. Horn, on the Pro-
testant side, read a paper in support of using the
English tongue in divine service, in answer to
one which had been pronounced by Dr. Cole on
the contrary side.

There seems to have been nothing unfair in the management of the disputation ; but the Roman Catholics, finding a vast applause to attend the close of Dr. Horn's arguments, and after theirs only a gloomy silence, augured ill for their cause, and withdrew themselves ; protesting against the bringing so solemn a matter as a national religion, before any tribunal unauthorized by a papal decree. The triumph, it may be easily supposed, was loud on the part of the Protestant religion.

Soon after this the parliament debated on the English Liturgy. Its admission was opposed by the bishops and by Feckenham, Abbot of West-<sup>The Eng-
lish Lit-
urgy re-
stored.</sup> minster, upon the old ground of the superior age
and

Cest. XVI. and stability of the mass. They were overpowered, and the act passed; but a protest was entered, signed by eight spiritual and nine temporal peers. By two other acts all religious houses were annexed to the crown; and a power given to the queen to exchange appropriated tithes for Bishop's lands. On the 8th of May the house was dissolved; and, on the same day, Whitsunday, the service * began to be read in English throughout the kingdom.

The convocation had sat, but, as it shewed strong symptoms of disaffection to the new system, Elizabeth sent thither a positive order that no canons should be formed. It obeyed; but Dr. Harpsfield, the prolocutor, a vehement partisan of the old faith, drew up four propositions concerning the sacrament, and the papal right to govern all churches. These were sent to the Universities, and were signed by the seniors. A fifth, which condemned all conferences, unless ordered by the church, was not approved.

Moderate measures pursued. The new queen was now as much employed in restraining the zeal bursting forth from the friends of Protestantism as in guarding against its enemies. The exiles, during the Marian persecution, had either sought refuge in Scotland, where the most gross scurrility and the wildest outrage had kept pace with reformation; or in

the

* Stowe, p. 639.

the Low Countries, Geneva, or Switzerland, where the most rigid Calvinism was preached, and the uncharitable doctrines of election and reprobation were universally acknowledged. These, when on their return to England they found a moderate but shewy hierarchy, retaining a proportion of the habits and the ceremonies, as well as the liturgy, of the detested Papists, could not contain their zeal, but suffered it to expand in effusions [65] dangerous to government, and particularly unpleasant to Elizabeth ; who knew too well the connection between regal and ecclesiastical policy not to discern that the support of the church which she had formed was necessary to the preservation of the throne she sat on. Accordingly, throughout the reign of that wise princess, we find her opposing with warmth, and sometimes with despotic exertions, every effort made by those who were styled Puritans, and were numerous in parliament, to trench on her prerogative ‘as head of the church.’

During the year 1559 the oath of supremacy was tendered to the bishops of Mary’s appointment, Fate of Mary’s prelates.

NOTES.

[65] In an ineffectual remonstrance from the Scottish to the English church, they say, ‘ what has darkness to do with light ? If surplices, corner caps, and tippets, have been badges of idolators in the very act of their idolatry, why should the preachers of Christian liberty, and the open rebuker of all superstition, partake with the dregs of the Romish beast ?’

[KEITH, KNOX.]

Cent. XVI. ment, and all, except Kitchen of Landaff, refused it, and lost their sees. Heath, Tonstal, and Thirlby, were treated with great kindness ; the former was exiled to his own estate, where the queen frequently visited him ; the other two lived at Lambeth with their hospitable friend Archbishop Parker.* White and Watson were sullen, and were kept some time in confinement ; and the detestable Bonner spent the rest of his days in prison. Of the other prelates, Christopherson, who was a deep scholar, and Baine, lived undisturbed in England ; Pates, Scot, and Goldwell, were permitted to go abroad ; but Feckenham, Abbot of Westminster, chose to remain at home ; and, being liberal and popular, passed his life in pleasure and credit. The Lord Morley and four knights, Englefield, Peckham, Shelley, and Gage, left the kingdom. Most of the monks returned to the occupations of secular life ; and the nuns chiefly went abroad. These seem to have been all the alterations which the change of religion operated on the fortunes of private persons. Not a drop of blood was spilt, nor one estate confiscated. The number of prelates in England who refused to comply with the reigning faith was fourteen ; archdeacons, twelve ; heads of colleges, fifteen, canons, fifty ; and of parish-priests about eighty.†

Number
of recusants.

The

* Camden, p. 377.

† Rym. Fœd. vol. xv. p. 548, 562, 582.

The queen about this time ordered a general ^{Cent. XVI.} visitation of the churches in England, and sent ^{General} injunctions * to be distributed in every parish, ^{visitation.} not unlike those which were sent abroad early in the reign of Edward VI. By these, priests were permitted, with some limitation, to marry ; images were to be removed ; the service to be read in English ; proper habits for ministers were directed ; attendance at the parish-church was ordered ; the supremacy of the crown was asserted, but in a very moderate manner ; and declared only to mean, that no foreign powers could have authority to guide the English church. Besides these, the injunctions contained many less important regulations ; they recommended a peaceable carriage, and forbade all hard names, such as ‘ Heretic, Papist,’ &c. &c. They seemed, on the whole, calculated to compose differences ; and to soften that acrimony to which a change of worship must naturally give rise in the falling party. The places in the church, vacated by the recusants, were filled up by conscientious Protestants ; and reformation proceeded, with a calm and steady pace, to finish her truly important work.

The high-commission court, which gradually became an evil of the first magnitude, sprung up from that act which allotted the supremacy to the queen ; as it permitted her to delegate that supre-

* Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 368.

Cent. XVI. macy to persons whom she should approve.—
 Henry VIII. had done this by appointing a vice-gerent, but it was now thought better to lodge that great power in the hands of a mixture of laity and of divines. The first high-commission for the province of York was trusted to the Earls of Shrewsbury and Derby, along with others; they were directed to make the visitation; ‘to disperse the royal injunctions among the people; to examine, and, if necessary, to censure and proceed by ecclesiastical law against them.’ This power allotted to laymen was thought an uncommon stretch of the prerogative. The commissioners were also empowered to allot pensions to such priests as chose to resign, rather than conform to the new doctrine. This was a humane regulation, but had no precedent; since former changes had uniformly turned the men of conscience out to starve.

Prelates
conse-
crated.

At the close of 1559, the consecration of the really diffident and unwilling Matthew Parker to the see of Canterbury,* and of fifteen other prelates, was performed in form [66] at Lambeth chapel.

During

NOTES.

[66] Bishop Burnet is extremely anxious to rescue these prelates from a scandal invented by one Neale, a chaplain of Bonner, and now totally lost in oblivion, viz. that instead of a chapel they all met in the Nag’s Head Tavern in Cheapside, and

* Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 373.

During the next year, 1560, Alasco and his foreign congregation, finding the exiles on the score of religion were returning to England, determined to request a restoration of the privileges torn from them by the unfeeling Mary, and regained their charter, [67] and a church in Austin Friars, which their descendants still enjoy. A set of French emigrants at the same time recovered a church in Threadneedle-street.*

To settle the religion of the nation, to translate the Scriptures into English, and to regulate the
 H H 2 ecclesiastical

NOTES.

and consecrated one another in a very unceremonious style. He clearly refutes the story, and brings as a witness a very old Earl of Nottingham, who was actually present at the chapel of Lambeth when the consecration was performed.

[HIST. OF REFORMATION.]

Notwithstanding the clearing away of this offensive rubbish, yet two objections, thrown in the way of the bishops by their Popish antagonists, appeared to them so forcible, that they applied to parliament, and were confirmed in their sees about seven years after their consecration. These were the doubts:

1. The consecrators had been deprived of their sees in Mary's reign legally, and were not yet re-instated.

2. The consecration should have been performed according to the directions of the statute, anno 25 Henry VIII. and not to King Edward's form, which had been legally repealed under Mary and not restored.

[HIST. OF PURITANS.]

[67] Elizabeth at first objected to admit a congregation with a foreign head. On which they deposed John Alasco, and chose for their protector Grindal, Bishop of London, which satisfied the queen.

[NEAL.]

* Hist. of Puritans, vol. i. p. 165.

Cent. XVI. ecclesiastical courts, were great objects ; and these the new constellation of bishops, immediately after their appointment, earnestly endeavored to compass.* And first, while they were revising the articles designed for the English church, they prepared a short profession of faith, which was ordered to be given out from the pulpit by every parish priest.

Articles
re-exa-
mined
and set-
tled.

In the articles some alterations were made ; in that respecting the Lord's Supper a very long refutation of the 'real presence' is left out, in lieu of which it is only said, that 'the body of Christ is given and received in a spiritual manner ; and the means by which it is received, is faith.' This gentle method of denying that important tenet was probably meant to leave an opportunity for moderate Roman Catholics to join the reformed communion. At least this reason is more charitable and probable than that which has been supposed by some, viz. that in their hearts these prelates approved of transubstantiation.+

The translation of the Bible [68] was allotted to various persons. William Alley, Bishop of Exeter,

NOTES.

[68] A retrospect in this place to the various attempts to render the Bible legible in English may not be thought improper. The first translation was that of J. Wickliffe, about the year 1360. Printing was then not known, but several MS copies of it exist in public libraries.

A version

* Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 375.

+ Ibid. p. 376.

eter, undertook the Pentateuch. Richard Davis, ^{Cent. XVI.} Bishop of St. David's, and Edwin Sandys of Worcester,
 —————
 Names of translators of the Bible.

NOTES.

A version by Johan de Trevisa was less fortunate, we know of no copies remaining.

The first printed English Bible we owe to William Tindal, assisted by Miles Coverdale, afterwards Bishop of Exeter. As these reformers had little money, it was printed abroad, on vile paper, with wretched types; but the zeal of Bishop Tonstal and of Sir Thomas More, who bought up the whole impression in order to destroy it, supplied the needy undertakers with the means of printing a more correct and creditable edition in 1530. This, too, was almost entirely purchased by its enemies, and committed to the flames; a fate which overtook the translator; who, after printing a third edition of the Bible without the Apocrypha, and preparing a fourth, was seized in Flanders, and burnt at a stake. The book, however, went on under the care of John Rogers, afterwards Mary's proto-martyr, who made a version of the Apocrypha, and, besides comparing the translation of the Scripture with the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and German, added prefaces and notes from Luther's Bible. As Rogers took the name of Thomas Matthews when he dedicated this copy to Henry VIII. in 1537, this is commonly called '*Matthew's Bible*.' It was printed at Hamburg; and licence was obtained for its being published in England, by the prelates, Cranmer, Latimer, and Shaxton. Archbishop Cranmer re-printed this edition in London by authority, after Dr. Coverdale had revised it. This was called '*Cranmer's Bible*,' and had an uncommon series of good and bad fortune. After having been ordered by Henry VIII. in 1540, to be set out and read in every parish church, the capricious prince, in 1542, prohibited the perusal of it. Edward VI. restored it in 1550, and it afterwards shared the fate of the religion it was meant to elucidate.

The

Cent. XVI. cester, went on, the first to the Book of Kings, the second to the end of Chronicles. From thence to Job the signature is A. P. G. Bishop Bentham, of Litchfield, translated the Psalms; the Proverbs are marked A. P. and Solomon's Song, A. P. E. Thence to 'Lamentations' were given to Robert Horn, Bishop of Winton; Ezekiel and Daniel to Bishop Bentham; Grindal, Bishop of London, proceeded on to Malachi; the Apocrypha, as far as the Book of Wisdom, fell to the share

NOTES.

The *Geneva Bible* was printed in 1560, by Coverdale, Goodman, Gilbie, Sampson, Cole, Whittingham, and Knox, all refugees at that sober town for their religion. As the minds of the editors were embittered by persecution, and as they had been hospitably received in a district where no ceremonies were allowed, and where religion was supposed to demand severity of countenance and sternness of manners, it cannot be matter of wonder that the notes accompanying the text of this Bible should favor the austere doctrines of Puritanism.

After this came '*The Great English Bible*,' or '*Bishops' Bible*,' spoken of hereafter.

Concerning this publication Mr. Walpole mentions a strange circumstance. 'The large G at the head of the first chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews, represents a naked Leda, with a swan, as shocking in point of indecency as can be imagined; and still more so in point of impropriety, as it makes part of so awful a word.' Mr. W. supposes that the letter was intended for one of Ovid's books, and was misplaced by an ignorant printer. It was fortunate for the episcopalians that this circumstance was not discovered by the puritan adversaries to this particular version of the Bible.

share of Barlow, Bishop of Chichester; and the rest of it to Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich. The Gospels, Acts, and Epistles to the Romans, became English by the care of Richard Cox, Bishop of Ely; the Epistles to the Corinthians are marked G.G. The names of the translators go no farther.

The rules by which the translators governed themselves during this truly important enterprize, appear to have been the same as those to which a later body of divines, employed in the reign of James I. on the same work, were subjected. Each bishop took what associates he pleased in the district of Scripture allotted to his care. Every section, when translated, was communicated to the whole body, and compared with other translations before it was adopted. And every care was employed to mark all the parts with the names of those who had undertaken them. The work, great as it was, seems to have been completed within two years, since the first edition of that Bible came out in 1561.

The ecclesiastical canons formed a task not so easily or so soon accomplished. They were not published until 1571; nor then were they looked upon by those who study the rights of hierarchy as complete; as there were no penitentiary canons, nor rules for the government of the church by churchmen.

The years 1559 and 1560 brought home to England great numbers of Protestants who had fled

Canons formed.

Exiles return.

Cent. XVI. fled to various foreign parts during the Marian persecution. Among these destitute fugitives there subsisted the most acrimonious disputes. Those who had resided at Frankfort had, after the severe contest in 1555, (see before, p. 442) maintained the regular episcopal worship as set forth in the Liturgy of Edward VI.; while others, retreating to Geneva, where they conversed with Calvin, and were instructed by John Knox, grew every year more intractable in points which, though seemingly indifferent, were in their eyes important to salvation. The episcopal vestments; the dress, and particularly the surplice of the inferior clergy; together with the tippet and the corner cap,* were objects of detestation in the eyes of these hyper-reformers; and the violent spirits among them not only dogmatically refused all communion with those priests who conformed to the rules set out by authority, but sometimes proceeded with a blameable zeal to revile them as false brethren, and even to spit [69] in their faces.+

In

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[69] Religious books, with singular title pages, entered with the Puritans; and the term ‘ballet or ballad,’ was indiscriminately applied to sacred and profane poems. There was ‘A Ballet of Alexander and Campaspe,’ and ‘A Ballet of four Commandments,’ extracted from the ten. ‘A Ballet of the 17th Chapter of the 2d Booke of Kynges,’ and a *ballet*

* Strype, vol. i. p. 416.

+ Life of Archbishop Whitgift, p. 460.

In Elizabeth, whose sentiments [70] with respect to the rival religions, Protestantism and Popery, were always problematical,* and who appears to have wished to bring the public worship as near as possible to that of the Roman Catholic

NOTES.

ballet or interlude of the Cruel Debtor. They published likewise. ‘The Waylinges of the Prophet Hieremiah, done into English verse, wyth epigrammes.’ Thus the argument begins :

Hierusalem is justly plagued,
And left disconsolate ;
The queene of townes, the prince of realmes,
Devested of her state.’

[70] Elizabeth loved the pomp of the Romish service; she retained in her church ordinances some of those vestments which her brother Edward had dismissed; she expunged from the Litany, ‘From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, Good Lord deliver us!’ There appeared in her chapel, an altar, a crucifix, and lighted tapers; copes and rich garments were still used by her priests and singers, and the Knights of the Garter adored her altar; a ceremony disused by her brother Edward. She has been known to call out from her closet to her chaplain, in the midst of a sermon, to desist from condemning the sign of the cross; she openly thanked one of her divines for preaching on behalf of the real presence; she hated that the clergy should marry; and, but for Cecil, would have forbade them; she was an enemy to sermons; ‘Two preachers,’ she said, ‘were enough for a county.’

[HEYLYN.]

On the other hand, she is said to have severely reprimanded a clergyman for placing before her at church a ritual ornamented with paintings of saints, and other illuminations.

* Heylyn, p. 124.

Cent. XVI. Catholic church, such dogmas excited a steady aversion; which was much heightened when she Puritans hated by found that the relish which the puritans, for so we Elizabeth must now name them, entertained for political liberty, was as strong as was their dislike to any ecclesiastical restraints. Thus her inclination and her interest united to make her guard [71] against them. For this purpose she caused a statute, enjoining uniformity of worship, to be enacted, and strictly put in execution ; and it was the dread of this party's great power which made her support the high-commission court ; and even indulge it, in a distant year (1583) with powers not far beneath those which her sister Mary had borrowed on a similar occasion from the Spanish Inquisition.

By the statute of uniformity above-mentioned, and passed April 8, 1559, power was given to the queen with the advice of her metropolitan, &c. ‘to ordain and publish such farther ceremonies and rites, as may be for the advancement of God’s glory,’ &c. &c. And so determined was Elizabeth to possess this power, that she told*

Archbishop

NOTES.

[71] Elizabeth probably dreaded the puritan interest the more, since, for reasons only to be drawn from the crooked policy of courts, her most entrusted ministers, Cecil, Dudley, Walsingham, and particularly her favorite, Essex, had successively entered into close connections with that rigid party.

* Hist. of Puritans, vol. i. p. 140.

Archbishop Parker that she would not have passed the act without it had been granted to her. ^{Cent. XVI.} Pope Pius

It was early in 1560 that Pope Pius IV. who had succeeded to the absurdly-haughty Paul, made more than one attempt to lead Elizabeth towards a reconciliation. But the crisis was past; she was settled in a rational system of policy, which admitted no foreign interference either in religion or state; his nuncios were not even permitted to reach the shores of England.

Nor was she more disposed to listen to the solicitations pressed on her by the Roman Catholic powers of Europe in favor of their English brethren. It was an age of bigotry and persecution; and although capital punishment on a religious account had been very rarely inflicted by the Protestant governments, yet the penalties on reading mass were enacted to be, for the first offence, loss of goods, banishment for the second, for the third, death. Surely too severe an ordinance against a person who probably might act from conscience, and have in his opinions neither mutiny nor treason.* Yet not an atom of this law would the acrid spirit of the times permit to be modified.

A Declaration of Faith, to be made by all divines on taking possession of their benefices, and on certain holidays every year, was published about this time. It gave disgust to the stricter part of the returned exiles; and, as the chief

A Declaration of faith.
The Puritans disgusted.
part

* Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. i. p. i. 468.

Cent. XVI. part of the erudition which the Protestant clergy could boast subsisted among those exiles, learning was at so low an ebb in England, that, had not a few of them, such as Grindal, Parkhurst, Sandys, Pilkington,* and others, laid their scruples for a while to sleep, there would have been great difficulty in filling the vacant sees, and livings, with decent incumbents.

Clergy
ill-
chosen.

In consequence of this scarcity of preachers, Archbishop Parker, when in 1561 he visited his diocese, found a great deficiency both of loyalty and literature, among his parochial clergymen; most of them being either ignorant mechanics or designing mass-priests. The declaration in favor of the supremacy, and the administration of the sacrament, presented for subscription to each clergyman, in some part remedied the first of these evils;† and, to prevent the increase of the last, the archbishop directed that no more mechanics or tradesmen should be ordained. He then proceeded at leisure to appoint the chapters of the Bible, the Psalms, &c. to be read in churches each day during the year.

Objec-
tions to
the Apo-
crypha.

Unfortunately, in this very appointment the Puritans found a stumbling-block, as the Apocrypha, which they held[72] not admissible as

Scripture,

NOTES.

[72] The Apocrypha (from *Απορυπτω*, to hide, because its original is obscure) seems not to have met with admission in

* Hist. of Par. p. 112. † Life of Abp. M. Parker p. 77.

Scripture, was included.* And this, with the ^{Cent. XVI.} graver objections against the habits, &c. forced the bishops to admit pluralists, non-residents, civil lawyers,† &c. to populous benefices; while men of real piety and sound learning,[73] ready and even eager to do their duty, stood by starving and idle, from the great misfortune of being fettered by petulant, though unfeigned,[74] scruples on their own side, and unkind bars on that of the episcopalians.

In 1562 the convocation assembled, and, after a close examination, reduced the Articles of Faith
from

NOTES.

in any reformed church except that of England. The Council of Trent, however, allowed six of its books to be canonical. And its merits, both in point of historical intelligence and keen lessons of morality, are surely not inconsiderable.

[73] The universities could afford but little help to the church. At Oxford there were but Humphreys, Kingsmill, and Sampson, who were counted good preachers, and they were all Puritans.

[HIST. OF PURITANS.]

[74] Trifling as such scruples may in this open-minded age appear, we cannot help lamenting that they should have reduced to poverty the venerable Miles Coverdale, once Bishop of Exeter, and the next translator of the Bible after Wickliffe, and the indefatigable and entertaining martyrologist, John Fox. Neither of these would accept see or benefice while incumbered by that ‘*tunica molesta*,’ the surplice. The good old Coverdale died almost in want; but Fox obtained a prebend at Sarum, and, by the good-nature of the bishop, was permitted to enjoy it without any duty which might demand the investment of that fatal cincture.

[HIST. OF PUR.]

* Life of Abp. Parker, p. 81. † Hist. of Pur. vol. i. p. 175.

Cent. XVI. from 42 to 39. No very essential alteration was made in the general doctrine by this decree.

Convocation not unanimous concerning ceremonies. At the same assembly a very warm attack was made on the surplice, the tippet, and the cornered cap. It failed however; but the kneeling at the sacrament, the cross in baptism, and the use of organs, were saved only by the casting vote; so powerful was the Puritan interest even in the strongest hold of episcopacy.*

The plague which ravaged the metropolis and country of England during 1563, seems to have turned away the attention of the people from polemic matters to the more immediate duty of self-preservation.

In 1564 [75] it appears, by a report found among the MSS† of the secretary Cecil, that nothing could exceed the variety of methods in which divine service was performed in places distant from the capital. ‘Some minister in a surplice,’ says this observer, ‘some without; some with a square cap, some with a round cap, some with a button cap, and some in a round hat; some in scholar’s cloaths, and some in others.’

This

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[75] Pestilence, death, and poverty, all afflicted London in 1564; the last being caused by a temporary stoppage of the Flemish trade. The then unaccounted for Aurora Borealis frightened the populace; the Thames too, having been frozen, a sudden thaw produced floods, which occasioned immense damages. [HOLINGSHED.]

* Strype’s Annals, p. 337. † Life of Abp. M. Parker, p. 152.

This criminal indifference could not expect to- ^{Cent. XVI.} ~~Non-conformity at Oxford~~ ^{~~~~~}leration. Accordingly, in 1565, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, singled out two of the most celebrated non-conformists in Oxford, repressed; Thomas Sampson, Dean of Christ-Church, and Dr. Lawrence Humphreys, president of Magdalen college. These had been exiles, and were men of sense and learning. They wished to retain their posts, and offered, what they thought reasonable submissions. Still however they would not wear the vestments: ‘For,’ said they with cautious subtlety, ‘should we put on the cornered cap, a thing apparently of small importance, who knows how soon we might be ordered to shave our crowns?’* Impressed by this train of reasoning, they spurned the insidious cap, lost their benefices and retired to obscurity; from which Dr. Humphreys emerged ten years after, and submitted to wear the corner-cap in a much inferior station than that which he had quitted.

Soon after this, the London clergymen were convoked at Lambeth, and Mr. Thomas Cole, a priest dressed in the four-cornered cap, the tippet, ^{And at} London. and the scholar’s gown, being set before them, they were asked, Whether they would agree to dress like him? ‘Great,’ says Mr. Neal, ‘was the anguish and distress of those ministers;’ they exclaimed, with unutterable horror, ‘we shall be killed

* Life of Abp. M. Parker, I. 166.

Cent. XVI. killed in our souls for this pollution of our's!*

This conflict between conscience and interest lasted some hours; at length sixty-one out of an hundred agreed to wear the detested dress, and the rest were suspended from their functions, but had three months allowed to form their final resolution.

Puritan preachers silenced.

The ice was now broken, and great severity followed. One stroke silenced every Puritan preacher. The licences for performing divine service were at once withdrawn from every clergyman, and were restored to none, unless to such as agreed to sign a declaration of conformity.

It were needless to mention the distress to which this sweeping edict drove the Puritan divines. Those whose consciences prompted them to suffer every extreme, rather than wear the cornered-cap, betook themselves to various ways of living. Some became physicians, some lawyers, and some private chaplains. Many went to Scotland, and others returned each to his asylum beyond the Channel.

Cambridge, which abounded, as well as her sister Oxford, with non-conformists, exercised a right derived from Pope Alexander VI. of licensing twelve preachers, independent of episcopal examination, and oddly enough constituted the father of Cæsar Borgia, a patron of Puritan divines.† The primate debated this right, but in vain. The University,

* Hist. of Pur. vol. i. p. 211.

† Life of Abp. M. Parker, p. 193.

versity attempted, however, without success, to ^{Cent. XVI.} throw off the cornered cap. The heads of many colleges wrote to Cecil, their chancellor, and expressed the universal detestation of that enormity. But he was impenetrable, and the heads * submitted.

The year 1566 produced a complete separation between the church of England and the Puritan society. Many pamphlets had been published by the non-conformists in defence of their opinion ; and, as mildness of manners, and delicacy of style, were not always attended to in the 16th century, their home strokes, couched in provoking and perhaps scurrilous language, drew upon them a severe injunction from the star-chamber ; prohibiting, on pain of three months' imprisonment, the publishing of any treatise ‘against the queen's injunctions.’[†]

Forbidden thus to move the tongue or the pen in defence of their opinions, the aggrieved non-conformists met and determined to have divine service of their own, since they could not conscientiously join in that of the episcopalians. Some of them, it appears, affected with the dignity of the English Liturgy, proposed to preserve as much of it as possible, amputating only the diseased parts ; but that proposal was over-ruled, and

* Life of M. Abp. Parker, p. 194.

† Ibid. p. 222.

Cent. XVI. and the book of service used at Geneva was appointed to be the model.*

Their
meeting
interrupt-
ed.

In 1567 this plan was brought into practice; and, as a beginning, Plumber's Hall † was hired by the Puritans, on pretence of celebrating a wedding, but really that they might enjoy a whole day's prayers and sermons. They met, to the number of 100, but were surrounded and led to prison by the sheriffs of London. Eight of the chief among them were examined before the Bishop of London. Their answers to his questions were more stout than respectful, and as there were no signs of conciliation, twenty-four of them were sent to prison, and continued there a considerable time. Letters were, however, sent ‡ to these suffering brethren to encourage them to perseverance, the energy of whose meaning amply compensated for their deficiency in sense and delicacy. [76]

The

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[76] In one of these we read the following expression, ‘ Let us not dissemble, as some do, to save their pigs, but be valiant for the truth.’ Another ends thus: ‘ Yours to command in the Lord, William White; who joineth with you in every speck of truth, but utterly detesteth whole Antichrist, head, body, and tail.’ Another letter, written by one Lever, declares the writer’s determination, let what will happen, ‘ neither to wear the square cap nor surplice, because they tended neither to decency nor edification.’

[HIST. OF PUR.]

* Hist. of Pur. vol. i. p. 230.

† Life of Abp. Grindal, p. 315.

‡ Hist. of Pur. vol. i. p. 246, 247.

The Bishops' Bible,* which was published in ^{Cent. XVI.}
 1568, was intended to counteract that of Geneva, <sup>The
Bishops'
Bible</sup> which was now in general use; but tended to Puritanism both in church and state so visibly by its published notes, that it was believed to be dangerous.

The ornaments to the new edition were costly and curious. There was a map of the Land of Canaan, and another of the journeys made by Jesus Christ and his apostles. There were some engravings, some genealogies, and delineations of the arms belonging to Cranmer, and Parker. [77]

The illness of Elizabeth in 1568, who was with <sup>Insolence
of the Ro-</sup> justice styled the bulwark of the Protestant reli-^{man Ca-} gion, gave active spirits to the Roman Catholics, ^{tholics.}

who

NOTES.

[77] Decorations of this kind could not allure the Puritan reader from the severe sarcasms, both on church and state, with which the political Scripture of Geneva abounded. The note on Exodus, chap. xv. verse 19, which allows of disobedience to regal authority; that on 2d Chron. chap. 19, verse 16, which censures Asa for stopping short in his work, when he contented himself with depositing his mother, and not putting her to death; and that on Rev. chap. ix. verse 3, wherein the locusts which come out of the smoke are interpreted to be 'false teachers, worldly subtle prelates, with monks, friars, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, doctors, batchelors, masters,' &c. &c. besides numbers more, equally directed against all establishments, civil and ecclesiastical, were not to be found in the Bishops' Bible; and a map or two, or an engraving, were but indifferent substitutes for annotations like these.

* Hist. of Pur. vol. i. p. 250.

Cent. XVI. who began now to recollect a prophecy which intimated, that the length of their adversary's reign would be only twelve years. Encouraged by this, and by a bull of excommunication hurled by the indignant Pius, (in which the queen is styled 'an usurper and a vassal of iniquity,' is deposed, and all nations are encouraged to invade her dominions) they shewed uncommon signs of disaffection. In Lancashire churches were shut up by force, and the Popish ritual publicly used. For these outrages several gentlemen were examined by commissioners, and many bound to their good behavior.* In Oxford, two colleges, Corpus Christi and New College, were so full of Roman Catholics, that their visitor, the Bishop of Winchester, was forced, in 1569, to break down the gates,† in order to enter that he might purge these ill-affected societies.

Objections of
Thomas Cartwright.

Nothing of great importance seems to have illustrated the ecclesiastical annals of England until the year 1571, except, indeed, the bold lectures of a Mr. Thomas Cartwright of Cambridge, a man of learning and eloquence; who, besides the usual scruples of the Puritans, added his private objections. 'The care of burying the dead did not,' he said, 'belong to the ministerial office, more than to the rest of the church. In giving names to children,' he thought, that 'paganism should be

* Strype's Annals, p. 541.

† Life of Abp. Grindal, p. 133.

be avoided, as well as the names and offices of Christ.' These, and other propositions, more petulant, perhaps, than dangerous or intelligible, caused their publisher to be silenced, and expelled the university. A shorter but not so candid a method of appreciating the merit of his doctrines, as that of a public conference; in which Cartwright offered to engage with any man of polemic learning.*

In 1571, Mr. Strickland, an ancient parliament-man,† moved the house, that 'the Common-prayer Book might be altered, and many superstitions removed.' The courtiers said, that this motion trespassed on the prerogative; and the queen sent for him and discharged him from attending in parliament. But finding that this prohibition had given great offence, the cautious Elizabeth withdrew it; and Strickland proceeded with his motion, but without success. [78]

The session did not, however, finish without an address to the queen for a reformation of the church; which had no more effect on Elizabeth than

NOTES.

[78] On this occasion a committee attended on Archbishop Parker. 'Will you not leave these things to your bishops?' said he. 'No!' answered Peter Wentworth, a sturdy non-conformist, 'by the faith I bear to God, we will pass nothing before we understand it: for *that* were to make you Popes. No! make you Popes who list, we will make you none.'

[HIST. OF PUR.

* Clarke's Life of Cartwright, p. 18.

† D'Ewes's Journal, p. 156, 157.

Cent. XVI. than that of a reverend Puritan, Mr. Gilbert Alcock, who, at the same juncture, petitioned the convocation on behalf of the silenced ministers.

The parliament had not neglected, during its sitting, to guard against the admission of any bull from Rome; it had even declared those who might introduce an *Agnus Dei*, a crucifix, or any relique consecrated by the Pope, guilty of a premunire.

The town of Northampton abounding with Puritans, two numerous societies of a religious kind were formed there and in the neighborhood. In these at first there was nothing remarkable, except that the lectures pronounced at one of them were called ‘Prophesyings,’ from a scripture-text oddly applied. It was not long before they were looked upon as nurseries for Puritan preachers.

Before the close of 1571, the good and learned John Jeroel, Bishop of Salisbury, ended his life; he was born in 1521, had been an exile during the reign of Mary. He was compared to Bellarmine as to excellence in polemic writing; and his ‘Apology’ for the church of England is greatly esteemed, and was translated into Greek by an English lady, and published at Constantinople. He had a vast memory, and could, after once reading it over, repeat by heart any one of his own long sermons.*

Mr.

* Grainger, vol. i. p. 209.

Mr. David Whitehead died nearly at the same time; an eminent, and, as Mr. Neale styles him, ‘a most heavenly professor of divinity.’* Elizabeth honored him for living a bachelor, [79] and pressed him to accept the see of Canterbury. He approved not the square cap, but lived by preaching in private families.

In 1572, two bills, which were levelled at rites and ceremonies, and meant to bring the Puritans spontaneously back to church, by complying with their chief requests, gave great offence to the ruling powers. They were sent up to the queen by the commons, with a petition in the usual humble strain, ‘that she would not be offended,’ &c. &c. But she sent to tell them, ‘that she disliked both,’ and never returned them. The stout Puritan, Wentworth, rose and spoke against a proceeding

NOTES.

[79] ‘I like thee the *better*,’ said the capricious queen one day to the sturdy Puritan, ‘Whitehead, that thou livest unmarried.’ ‘In troth, Madam,’ replied he, bluntly, ‘and I like you the *worse* for the same cause.’ Whitehead had a great memory, which assisted him much in disputation.

[BACON’S APOPHTHEGMS.]

In 1572 died also, at Mechlin, to which place his religion had caused him to retire, Dr. John Clement, an eminent physician, and a man of great learning. After having been tutor to Sir Thomas More’s children, he became Greek professor at Oxford. His wife, Margaret, who had been bred up by Sir T. More, was as learned as himself.

[AIKIN.]

* Hist. of Pur. vol. i. p. 278.

Cent. XVI. a proceeding so despotic, and he was sent to the Tower *

Indifferent as the success of this attempt had been, the non-conformists, finding no hopes from the favor of the queen, or her bishops, determined again to apply to the commons. Accordingly two of their most eminent teachers, Field and Wilcox, presented an ‘Admonition,’ to the lower house concerning the needful reformation of the church, and the condemnation [80] of ceremonies. Thomas Cartwright, just returned from exile, seconded the remonstrance. The parliament neglected them, and the court imprisoned them. Indeed a repetition of this adventure comprises most of Queen Elizabeth’s Ecclesiastical History. The same perpetual opposition on the Puritan’s side against the cap, the surplice, and the organ; the same pertinacity in retaining each on that of the conformists. But the Puritans engaged to a great disadvantage, as the secular arm was always ready to second the stroke of the episcopalian. [81]

This

NOTES.

[80] Every petition presented by Puritans offered its mite towards the abolition of church music. The last-mentioned production is accompanied by a confession, which avers, ‘that they do not object to the plain singing of psalms, but that they abhor the tossing the psalms from the one side to the other, with the interminglement of organs.’ [HIST. OF PUR.]

[81] On these occasions the judges sometimes permitted their

* Life of Abp. M. Parker, p. 394.

This undetermined contention must have hurt ^{Cent. XVI.}
 the interest of religion in general, if the picture Harsh
 which follows bears any likeness to the original ^{picture} of the
 it means to copy: ‘the churchmen heaped up times.
 many benefices on themselves; and resided at
 none, neglecting their cures. Among the laity
 there was little devotion; the Lord’s day great-
 ly prophaned, and little observed; the common
 prayers not frequented; some lived without any
 service of God at all; many were mere heathens
 and atheists. The queen’s own court a harbor
 for epicures and atheists, and a kind of lawless
 place, because it stood in no parish.’ *

In 1573, the outrageous insanity of Peter Bir- Frenzy of
 chet, a mad fanatic, who had been accounted a ^a fanatic.
 Puritan,

NOTES.

their vivacity to outrun that grave caution which, in the
 eighteenth century, is thought necessary in a character so high
 and so important. The lord chief justice, and other judges,
 examined Mr. White, a citizen of London, as follows:

L. C. J. Who is this?

Prisoner. White, an’t please your honor.

L. C. J. Ay! White, as black as the devil!

Prisoner. Not so, my Lord. One of God’s children.

We find the same eminent person proceeding thus:

L. C. J. Thou art a rebel.

Prisoner. Not so, my lord—a true subject.

L. C. J. Yea! I swear by God thou art a very rebel.

The Lord chief justice being modestly reprimanded by the
 prisoner for this gross excess of language, defended himself by
 saying, ‘that he might swear in a matter of charity.’

[HIST. OF PUR.

* Life App. M. Parker, p. 395.

Cent. XVI. Puritan, stirred up additional troubles for the sect. Fancying himself armed in the cause of heaven, he rushed through the streets, and, meeting Sir William Winter, and Captain Hawkins, two celebrated naval officers, on horseback, their servants following at some distance on foot, he wounded the latter dangerously in the arm and side, taking him to be, as he owned, Christopher Hatton, captain of the guards, ‘ whom,’ he said, ‘ he was moved by the Spirit of God to slay, as being an enemy of God’s word, and a lover of Papistry.’ Irritated at the danger of her navigator, (though Hawkins did recover) the queen would have had Birchet straightway put to death by martial law; but her counsellors telling her that such proceeding would be illegal, he was tried as an heretic. He then promised to recant, and would probably have escaped punishment, had he not, still aiming to kill Hatton, in a new fit of madness, knocked his keeper on the head with a billet; for which he was tried and hanged. Innocent as were the non-conformists of this insane enterprize, they are believed to have suffered by it in the queen’s opinion, and to have owed several severities, which they had to suffer, to this ill-grounded persuasion.

Prophe-
syings
suppress-
ed.

In 1574, the prophesyings, as they were strangely called, having much increased in the diocese of York, &c. Archbishop Parker determined to suppress them, as he looked on them as exercises of Puritanism, notwithstanding that they were apparently

apparently pointed against the Roman Catholic ^{cent. XVI.} doctrines. Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, a reverend exile, supported them, and the council wrote in their favor; * but the archbishop, having persuaded the queen that they tended to promote disaffection to her government, she ordered every means to be used towards their suppression. The good old bishop, frowned on by the court, and reprimanded by the primate, protected them no more, nor indeed remained much longer alive. He died much lamented in his diocese, as charitable, † hospitable, and moderate; and was soon followed to the grave by his repressor, Dr. Matthew Parker, ^{Archbishop Parker dies.} Archbishop of Canterbury. He had been bred at Christ Church college, Cambridge, and having been chaplain to Anne Boleyn, he had good preferments in the church; all which he was obliged to relinquish in the reign of Mary because he had taken a wife. Elizabeth, at the beginning of her reign, bestowed the primacy upon him although she liked not his marriage, as she contrived once, humorously, to tell his consort. The queen had been hospitably entertained at his house, she had thanked him; ‘and now, said she, turning to the lady, ‘ what shall I say to *you*? *Madam* I may not call you, and *Mistress* I am ashamed to call you, so I know not what to call you; but

* Life of Abp. M. Parker, p. 460, 461.

+ Ibid. *passim*. Fuller's Church Hist. b. 9. p. 108.

Cent. XVI. but yet I do thank you.' Dr. Parker left munificent donations to many colleges and churches, and expended great sums on the repairs of his palaces at Canterbury and Lambeth, where he lived with great hospitality, and protected the deprived prelates, Tonstal and Thirlby, in his family, during their respective lives. He wrote 'Antiquitates Britannicæ,' a work which proved his knowledge of ecclesiastical remains ; and was the founder of the Antiquarian Society in London.* He is believed to have been a good Oriental scholar ; and, having a turn to poetry, amused himself during his retirement, while Mary reigned, with translating the psalms into metre. In his poetic preface he thus sings the power of holy music :

His poe-
try.

' The psalmist stayde with tuned songe
 The rage of myndes aghast ;
 As David did, with harpe amonge,
 To Saul in fury cast.
 With golden stringes, such harmonie
 His harpe so sweete did wreste,
 That he relieved his phrenesie,
 Whom wicked sprites possest.'

What follows is a specimen of the translation of the 18th Psalm, but cannot be, without great disadvantage, compared with the celebrated version of Sternhold of the same passage:

' The

* Grainger, vol. i. p. 204.

‘ The heav’n full lowe he made to bowe,
And downe did he ensue ; *

Cent. XVI.

And darkness greate was undersette
His feete in clowdy hue.

He rode on hye, and did so flye

Upon the Cherubines ;

He came in sight, and made his flight
Upon the wynge of wyndes.

The Lord from heaven sent down his leaven,

And thundered thence in ire ;

He thunder cast, in wondrous blast,

With hayle and coales of fyre.’ [82]

The historian of English poetry says, ‘ Here is some degree of spirit, and a choice of phraseology; but, on the whole, Parker will be found to want facility, and in general to have been unpractised, in writing English verses. His abilities were destined to other studies, and adapted to employments of a more archiepiscopal nature.’

The

NOTES.

[82] Contrast these pompous lines with the modest muse of the Countess of Pembroke, sister to Sir Philip Sidney.

Psalm LI. Stanza 1.

‘ O Lorde ! whose grace no lymitts comprehend,

Sweet Lorde ! whose mercies stand from measure free,

To me that grace, to me that mercy send,

And wype, O Lorde ! my sinnes, from sinful me.

O cleanse ! O wash ! my foul iniquitie.

Cleanse still my spotts, still wash away my stayninges,

Till staynes and spotts in me leave no remayninges.’

* Follow.

Cent. XVI. The Puritans were loud in their complaints * of the archbishop's severe conduct towards their party. [83] 'He had known,' said they, 'what persecution was; but he only recalled to mind his own sufferings, that he might copy them at the cost of his once brethren in adversity.'

About the same time died, much advanced in years, Richard Taverner, + a gentleman of Norfolk, and an active reformer. As Protestant divines were scarce in the days of Elizabeth, she had indulged him with a licence (though a layman) to preach, and he was looked on as a master of pulpit eloquence. The reader may judge of his merits by an extract from a sermon which, when sheriff of Oxfordshire, he delivered from the stone pulpit of St. Mary's, Oxford, with his sword by his side, and his golden chain round his neck: 'Arriving at the mount of St. Mary's, in the stony-stage where I now stand, I have brought you some fine biscuits, baked in the oven of charity, carefully conserved for the chickens of the church, the sparrows of the spirit, and the sweet swallows of salvation,' &c.

Another

NOTES.

[83] 'He was a "Parker," indeed,' says the quaint Fuller, 'careful to keep the fences, and shut the gates of discipline, against all such night-stealers as would invade the same.'

[CHURCH HISTORY.]

* Hist. of Pur. vol. i. p. 340.

+ Ath. Oxonienses, apud articulum Taverner.

Another celebrated preacher, Edward Dering ^{Cent.XVI.} of Kent, ended his life in 1574. He had spirit enough to tell Elizabeth, when he preached before her, that in Mary's time she might have taken for her motto '*Tanquam Oris*, "Meek as a lamb;" but that *now* it ought to be '*Tanquam indomita juvenca*,' "Wild as a heifer." The moderate queen excused this sally, and only bade him preach no more before her.*

Early in 1576, Archbishop Grindal was translated from York to Canterbury, Dr. Sandys to York, and Dr. Aylmer to London. The new primate was old, and remarkably moderate in his principles; nor would he stir a step farther in persecuting the Puritans than he was obliged to do, by orders which he dared not to disobey. The prophesyings he openly favored, only endeavoring to regulate them by his advice in such a way, that government might not take offence at their continuing to exist.

The next year it was reported to Elizabeth, that the prophesyings continued to be held in almost every diocese. New orders were therefore issued † to each bishop, to use every possible method to stop the practice. They obeyed, although some of them unwillingly, particularly in the diocese of Litchfield and Coventry; the new archbishop.

* Fuller's Ch. Hist. b. ix. p. 109.

† Life of Abp. Grindal, p. 190, &c.

Cent. XVI. bishop, Dr. Grindal, steered a different course; he not only gave no orders against them, but actually wrote to the queen to tell her how much service to the cause of pulpit-oratory these prophesying, or preaching exercises, had been. * ‘ Before this institution,’ said the honest but impolitic primate, ‘ I knew of but three good preachers in my diocese. Now, I can bring thirty that may be heard with applause at Paul’s cross; and forty or fifty more who are able to read lectures to their own parishes.’ This was uncourtly doctrine, and the good archbishop was confined to his house and menaced with degradation. The queen did not think it right, however, to proceed so far; but Dr. Grindal long remained in a gentle imprisonment.

Power of
the Puritans.

In the mean while the Puritan interest thrrove amain, notwithstanding the checks it received; and so few, [84] as is affirmed were there among those

NOTES.

[84] Hard as this is to believe, yet the people believed it; witness the supplications to parliament from London and from Cornwall. The Londoners quaintly say, ‘ that they are pestered with candlesticks, not of gold but clay; that scarcely the tenth man waits on his charge; that the Sabbath is wholly neglected,’ &c. &c. The Cornish men, more outrageous, say, that ‘ they are above 90,000 souls who have none to teach them but fornicators, adulterers; some felons, bearing the marks of their offence in their hand; some drunkards, Sunday gamesters,’ &c. ‘ The mouths of Papists, infidels, and filthy livers, are open against them.’ They beg the house to dispossess these ‘ dumb dogs and ravenous wolves.’

[HIST. OF PUR.]

* Hist. of Pur. vol. i. p. 358.

those who conformed who took any attention to their duty, and so great was the number of the dissentient clergy, that it was found impossible to prevent the last-mentioned from re-entering those churches as curates, from which, as rectors and vicars, they had been ejected. They accepted of trifling stipends, certain of being assisted by the benevolence of their hearers ; with whom, on account of their zeal and sufferings, the non-conformists were generally popular. These curates continued to meet in spite of the court's endeavor to prevent them, and to practise preachings or exercises in the manner of the exploded prophesyings. Steps of honor in the church they contrived still to attain to ; for by going to Antwerp, and submitting a short time to the Dutch ecclesiastical discipline, they were admitted to receive degrees as in the church of England.*

It was about this time that a set of German fanatics, styling themselves the Family of Love, and taking their ideas of religion from one Henry Nicholas, began to appear. Their principles verged towards Quietism ; and, before it was long, they fell under the notice of the civil magistrate. But they were preceded, in the path of suffering, by a set of Dutch Anabaptists, who had been apprehended near Aldersgate, to the number of twenty-seven ; they were tried before the

Family of
Love.

* Strype's Annals, p. 513.

~~Cent.~~ XVI. the consistory of St. Paul's (which seemed to cast an envious eye at the orthodox splendor of Mary's reign) and eleven of them, ten women and one man condemned to the flames, by the writ 'De Hæretico comburendo ;' which, after having been some years hung up, was put in force to the destruction of these poor wretches. Two of them suffered at the stake, the other nine were whipt and banished. They were supposed to inherit the noxious principles of John Munster and his wretched crew. [85]

~~Popish seminaries.~~ Seminaries were begun at this juncture to be settled in continental towns, with a view to supply missionaries to Protestant countries. That at Douay soon sent over hundreds to England alone.* The Roman Catholic princes spared no cost in forming societies, the political advantages of which they foresaw.

Abjectness in parliament.

If Puritanism had begun in 1580 to sprinkle the English Commons with its zeal, it had then imparted none of its steadiness; for, on their voting that 'they would meet at the Temple-church [for preaching and to join in prayer for her Majesty,' &c. &c. Elizabeth, suspecting that

NOTES.

[85] Besides these unhappy victims, Matthew Hamond, a deistical fanatic, was convened before the Bishop, &c. of Norwich, and afterwards sentenced by the recorder, &c. to have his ears cut off, and, seven days afterwards, to be burnt. This was executed.

[HOLINGSHEP.]

* Fuller, b. ix. p. 92.

that at the bottom of this loyal ardor some grains of non-conformity were concealed, sent a severe message by Hatton, ‘wondering at their rashness.’ And the servile senate instantly ‘owned its offence and contempt; and humbly craved forgiveness.’*

Sarcastical pamphlets began now to be written by the oppressed party, and Elizabeth finding it easier to punish the writers than to answer them, countenanced an act, whereby, ‘to devise, write, or print, any book, rhyme, ballad, letter, &c. &c. against the government, was made felony.’ Another severe law was passed, nominally against the Papists, but included the unlucky, obnoxious Puritan.

In 1581 the Brownists, a most violent set of reformers, were first heard of. They lasted not long. The ministers of Elizabeth gave them no rest until they,† with their teacher, Robert Brown (a man of good descent in Rutland) had quitted the kingdom, and migrated to Middleburg in Zealand, where the society soon fell to pieces,‡ and was scarcely heard of again.[86]

K K 2

In

 NOTES.

[86] The founder, a man of impatient spirit, returned to England, lived a riotous life, and died in a prison, to which he had been sent for abusing and beating a constable, at the age of 81.

[FULLER'S CH. HISTORY.]

* Heylyn, p. 287.

+ Strype's Annals, p. 21.

‡ Fuller's Ch. History, b. x. p. 168.

Cent. XVI. In the same year a party of over scrupulous ^{Image} ~~breakers.~~ image-haters defaced the statues within their reach at the cross in Cheapside; nor were the perpetrators discovered, although a large reward was offered.

Nothing happened during the next year, except additional burthens on the Puritans, and a steady resistance in that elastic race. They had still many favorers in the church and at court, but their own immovable firmness, or, as their enemies called it, obstinacy and perverseness, was their best friend. Their preachers wanted not support. They were tutors in many noble houses, and formed the bulk of the chaplains in the army and navy.

^{Death and character of Archbishop Grindal.} Edmond Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury, died in 1583. He was a man of deep learning. His principles were so well known, that he had been forced to fly to foreign countries during the reign of Mary. Elizabeth gave him in 1560 the see of London, and Canterbury in 1575. He joined John Fox in composing the Martyrology, and had a considerable share in forming the Liturgy. A Dialogue between Custom and Truth, in John Fox's great work, was written by Dr. Grindal. He had been sequestered from his functions, and confined to his own house some time before his decease, for declining to prosecute those who went about 'prophesyings' (as they styled their vocation) according to the orders of Elizabeth. Sir John Harrington gives a

very

very different reason for this prelate's disgrace. Cent. XVI. The Earl of Leicester, he says, protected an Italian physician, the husband of two wives at once, and for that reason severely prosecuted by the archbishop ; who, having disregarded the lords' intreaties, was applied to, even by a letter from the queen, to stop the process. The stout prelate, instead of yielding, told her Majesty, that her letter was so heterodox, that he must, in conscience, demand a written account of her own faith. Overawed by the archbishop's sanctity, Elizabeth meant to comply, but was dissuaded by her favorite ; and Dr. Grindal was bade to keep his house. His friends reported that he was blind ; but he lived some time after this imprisonment, and had promised to resign his see to the queen, when death prevented him.

The same year proved also fatal to Bernard Gilpin, Archdeacon of Durham, born in 1517. Of Ber-nard Gil-pin. He had been a zealous disputant on the Roman Catholic side, but was converted to Protestantism by Peter Martyr. He was sent for in the reign of Mary out of the North, to suffer for his religion. Luckily, however, he broke his leg on the journey, and the death of the queen saved him. He refused the bishopric of Carlisle ; and was at his own rectory (Houghton Le Spring, in Durham) so hospitable, that it was a common saying, that 'a horse turned out anywhere in the North, would find his way thither.' Gilpin was learned, charitable, and pious.

Cent.XVI.
Doctor
Whitgift
made pri-
mate.

Dr. John Whitgift was now placed in the see of Canterbury, and began his archiepiscopal* course by promulgating a set of severe articles;† aimed, with great dexterity, at those instances of non-conformity which hitherto had been left untouched; particularly the preaching and praying in private families to the neighbors assembled together. He was so strict in demanding compliance with these regulations, and a subscription to a thorough approbation of the Common Prayer, &c. that, during his first visitation, he suspended 233 clergymen for refusing their assent. As future visitations by this orthodox prelate occasioned a still greater number of priests to lose their benefices, the distress of the ejected vented itself in supplications to the council, from not only the ministers, but from the gentlemen of the counties which had lost them. All was, however, in vain; and the archbishop, unmoved by the complaints and distress of the preachers and their families, petitioned the queen for new powers, that he might utterly eradicate the schism. [87]

The

NOTES.

[87] Heretics still mourned the want of toleration. A tailor and a shoemaker were hanged at Bury for disapproving of the received Liturgy; and John Lewis, a kind of Socinian, was burnt at Norwich in 1583.

* Life of Bernard Gilpin, *passim*.

† Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 118.

The powers granted by this high commission, ^{Cent. XVI.} the sixth that had ever been issued, and dated ^{High-} January 7, 1583-4, were superior to any which ^{commis-} had before been granted. There were forty-four ^{commission} court. commissioners named, twelve of whom were bi-
shops, and the rest privy-councillors, lawyers, and officers of state. It appeared on the face of this commission that authority was given to en-
quire into all manner of heretical opinions, ‘se-
ditious talks,’ &c. &c. ‘by any means or ways,’ certainly including rack and torture. The whole affair brought the Spanish inquisition much too closely to the mind; and had a very bad effect on the quiet of some persons, and on the loyalty of others.

In order to render the proceedings of this court ^{Severity} more effectual, twenty-four articles were invent- <sup>of Arch-
bishop</sup> ed by the archbishop, and each clergyman was to ^{Whitgift.} be examined on each of these. And so well were they calculated to perform the work, that it was hardly possible for any one to guard against each interrogatory which the commissioners were hereby appointed to employ.* This very harsh conduct occasioned a letter from the treasurer Bur-
leigh to the archbishop, in which he says, ‘he will not call his proceedings captious, but thinks they are hardly charitable.’* Not long after this, Mr. Beale, clerk of the queen’s council, having warmly

* Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 163

¹ Ibid. p. 160.

Cent. XVI. warmly blamed the archbishop for his inveteracy, the primate, in his turn, accused him, before the queen and council, among other things, ‘of having condemned the racking of offenders as illegal, and contrary to the liberty of the subject ; and of warning those that used torture, although directed by the queen’s hand, to look to it that their doings were well warranted.’* These charges, which load with disgrace the flinty heart which conceived them, were thrown with contempt from the council board.

A fruitless conference.

A fruitless conference was held in 1584, before three of Elizabeth’s ministers of state ; between the primate and the Bishop of Winton on one hand, and Dr. Sparke and Mr. Travers on that of the Puritans. It broke up, as usual, with no visible advantage on either side, nor any conviction.†

After suffering, what they thought, very harsh treatment, especially as coming from the hands of old friends, [88] the Puritans determined to seek redress

NOTES.

[88] Dr. Aylmer, Bishop of London, was one of these. He had been an exile during the Marian persecution, and had written with bitterness against the ‘lordly dignities, and civil authority,’ of the bishop. Yet, when he had attained to a see, no man carried those dignities to a higher pitch. As an ecclesiastical judge we have the following record of his unseemly

* Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 212.

† Ibid. p. 170.

redress from the parliament which met in No-^{Cent. XVI.}
vember, 1584, and which was no way disinclined
to

NOTES.

unseemly warmth while examining a Puritan preacher named Merbury, whose coolness must have been provoking, but ought not to have thrown a prelate off his guard.

Bishop. ‘The bishop of Peterborough was overseen when he admitted thee as a preacher at Northampton.’

Merbury. ‘Like enough so, I pray God these scales may fall from his eyes!'

Bishop. ‘Thou art a very ass! thou art mad! Thou courageous? Nay, thou art impudent. By my troth I think he is mad; he careth for nobody.’

Merbury. ‘Sir, I take exception at *swearing judges*; I praise God I am not mad, but sorry to see you out of temper.’

Bishop. ‘Did you ever hear one more impudent?’

Merbury. ‘It is not, I trust, impudence to answer for myself.’

Bishop. ‘Thou takest upon thee to be a preacher, but there is nothing in thee; thou art a very ass, an ideot, and a fool! An overthwart, proud, Puritan knave,’ &c. &c. &c.

Merbury. ‘I humbly beseech you, Sir, have patience, and give this people a better example,’ &c. &c. &c.

[HIST. OF PUR.]

The candid reader will find much to blame in the conduct of each party, and will give great allowance to the resentment of the hierarchy, when assailed by such odious ribaldry as the following, which is extracted from a petition to parliament, in 1586, for a reform of the church. Among other things, it prays, ‘That all Cathedral churches may be put down where the service of God is grievously abused by piping of organs, singing, ringing, and trowling of psalms, from one side of the choir to another; with the squeaking of chaunting choristers, disguised, as all the rest, in filthy surplices; some in corner caps and filthy copes, imitating the fashion and manner of Antichrist

Cent. XVI. and permitted none to set up a press unless a licence was first obtained. But the elastic non-conformists, against whom this prohibition was levelled, rendered it of no avail, by printing their works abroad and importing them to England, where they were eagerly read by every rank of life.

The parliament soon after brought in a bill for the better observation of Sunday; but the quick discernment of Elizabeth traced the hand of the Puritan in it, and stopped it, as ‘ trenching on her supremacy of the church.’*

And on schools.

A farther exertion of Archbishop Whitgift brought Schoolmasters under the same regulations as preachers, and obliged them to subscribe a declaration of conformity.†

The next year produced an earnest supplication to parliament for a reformation; and a very particular account of the lives and characters of present incumbents. Although this schedule abounds not in charity, as may be judged by the specimen below, [91] yet it gained credit and a bill

NOTES.

[91] In the deanery of Pendore, Cornwall, we find, Vicarage, Lanleweric, Mr. Batten, no preacher. He liveth as a pot-companion.

Ditto, Twardreth, Mr. Kendal, no preacher. A simple man.

Ditto, Esey, John Bernard, no preacher. A common dicer, burnt in the hand for felony, full of all iniquity.

Ditto,

* Strype’s Annals, p. 295.

+ Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 246.

bill was hastened through the lower house on the ^{Cent. XVI.} plan proposed. But Elizabeth again interposed ; and some of the warmest speakers being sent to the Tower, the proposed reformation was heard of no more during the session.

The remainder of 1586 passed in great severities towards the Puritans, and produced a determination made by those spirited schismatics, that, as the church of England refused to relieve their scruples, they would remove still farther from her pale. Accordingly a new book of discipline for the seceding members was settled, and signed by above 500 clergymen, once benefited in the English church, and many of them celebrated preachers.*

In 1587 died the voluminous and laborious historian John Fox, born at Boston, in Lincoln-shire, in 1517, and bred at Brazen-nose college, Oxon. His Martyrology, or Acts and Monuments of the Church, form, though not a perfect, yet a stupendous, work. In writing the story of Lady Jane Grey, Fox declares that he shed tears. He had fled to Basil, during Queen Mary's persecution, where he wrote his Martyrology, and turned it into Latin. He was a moderate but firm nonconformist, and endured great hardships for

NOTES.

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Cent. XVI. for his opinions; although the queen had paid the highest honors to his book, by ordering it to be placed in all public halls, colleges, &c. where it was almost treated with a veneration only due to the Scripture. Towards the close of his life he had an indifferent provision in the church of Sarum, and was permitted to officiate without that bone of contention the surplice.* It has been said of Fox, as was of Bishop Burnet, that many persons supplied him with pretended facts in order to ruin the credit of his work. But he stands in no need of such an apology.

During 1587 and 88, the dangers impending over the state, from the Spanish Armada, seeming more imminent than those to the church from Puritanic zeal, the non-conformists enjoyed some relaxation of episcopal severity, and distinguished their loyalty by entering the navy and army as chaplains.

Contro-
versy
arises on
the ordina-
tion of
Bishops.

A controversy concerning the divine right of episcopacy, which occasioned much argument in a later age, had indeed taken its rise from a rash sermon preached at St. Paul's cross by Dr. Bancroft, the primate's chaplain † This was answered by Dr. Rainolds, a celebrated Puritan, who utterly denied to the bishops any superiority in point of ordination to the clergy in general.

At

* Hist. of Pur. vol. i. p. 493.

† Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 292.

At this important juncture the exiled Roman ^{Cent. XVI.} Catholics were not backward in trying to inflame ^{Insolence} the minds of their brethren in England by sedi- ^{of the} tious writings. ‘The Admonition,’ nominally, written by Cardinal Allen, but supposed by Father Parsons, was one of the most dangerous of this class, and was very sedulously dispersed throughout the island. It begins by a gross abuse of the queen; it proceeds to threaten the nobility with judgments from heaven, and devastation by the Spaniards, unless they join the forces of Philip; it boasts of the vast strength of these forces; that they contain more good *captains* than Elizabeth had *soldiers*. It asserts, that the saints in heaven all prayed for victory to the Spaniards, that the holy angels guarded them, and that Christ Jesus was with them every day. This performance, which, had the Armada succeeded, would have been treated as a prophecy, was, on its defeat, brought up and burnt so carefully, that there are very few copies existing out of the thousands which were dispersed among the papists of England.

Towards the end of 1588, the disgusting scene ^{Parlia-} was repeated in the commons which had more ^{ment} disgraced than once before ^{humbled.} that abject assembly. The same application of the Puritans, the same bills hurried through the house in their favor, and the same tame dereliction of each bill, as soon as the queen, roused by the convocation, (who saluted her with ‘O Dea certe!’ and prayed

Cent. XVI. her protection) had imprisoned some of the most forward members, and terrified the rest into a blind submission.*

Two celebrated and learned reformers, Sampson and Humphreys, died at this period. They had each been exiles during the reign of Mary; and Sampson had been pressed by Elizabeth to accept the bishopric of Norwich. The unhappy scruples concerning the cap and surplice deprived the English church of these and many other men of real worth and abilities.

Death of Dr. Edwin Sandys. In 1588 also died Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York. He had been an exile under Mary; and a translator of the bible, and regulator of religious matters, under her successor. An unlucky piece of satirical wit cost him dear. Sir Robert Stapleton, his intimate friend, shewed him a sumptuous house which he was finishing at an enormous cost. ‘This,’ said he, ‘I mean to call Stapleton’s Stay.’ ‘Alas!’ said the bishop, ‘he would be your friend who would say to you “Stay Stapleton.”’ Sir Robert heard this sarcasm on his imprudent undertaking with a concealed acrimony; and not long after, contrived to introduce the hostess of an inn to Bishop Sandys’ bed-chamber, and on that incident to bring a charge of adultery against the venerable reformer. Improbable as this accusation appears to have been, the prelate could

* Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 280.

could not shake it off without the help of the ^{Cent. XVI.} Star-chamber, by which court the malicious knight was ordered to pay a heavy fine, and make a public recantation[92] of his scandal.*

In 1589 a paper-war was carried on, with outrageous virulence, between the church and the conventicle. The Puritans, shut out by law ^{Bitter satires printed.} from every public press, nevertheless contrived to obtain a private one of their own. From this now issued forth a torrent of acrimonious pamphlets, which were answered with nearly equal scurrility by the Episcopalians.[93] Great pains

were

NOTES.

[92] According to the quaint conceit of the times, Sir Robert White, making this '*amende honorable*,' exposed to view a whetstone hanging out of his pocket. A mysterious and hieroglyphic way of giving himself the lie for what he was then saying.

[HARRINGTON'S *NUGÆ ANTIQUE*.]

[93] A few instances may amuse the reader. The favorite book on the Puritan side was written under the name of 'Martin Marre-prelate;' and the writer thus addresses the hierarchy: 'Right puissant and terrible priests!' 'Right poisoned, persecuting, and terrible priests! My horned masters, your government is anti-christian; your cause is desperate; your grounds are ridiculous.' 'Enemies of the gospel! and most covetous, wretched, and Popish priests!' Besides this book, the same press produced many others equally abusive. Nor did the writers on the side of the church yield to their adversaries in buffoonery and abuse. In the variety of titles of their books they exceeded them; they had, 'Pappe with a hatchet,'

alias,

* Harrington's Brief View, p. 203, &c.

Cent. XVI. were taken to discover this insolent press, and at length it was found out and silenced ; and two knights who protected it, by name Knightly and Wigston, with the printer and the disperser, were severely fined in the Star-chamber ; but, by the intercession of the archbishop, had their fines remitted.*

Credulity censured. The primate grew every year more strict in his enquiry after concealed Puritans, whom, to the disgrace of that discernment which charity would make us allot to one in so eminent a station, he

NOTES.

alias, ‘ A fig for my Godson,’ or ‘ Crack me this nut,’ that is, ‘ A sound box on the ear for the ideot Martin to hold his peace.’ Also, ‘ An almond for a parrot,’ or ‘ An alms for Martin Marre-prelate.’ By ‘ Cuthbert Curry-knave.’ And ‘ A whip for an ape,’ or ‘ Martin displayed.’ The following epigram too they published :

‘ Martin the ape, the drunke and the madde,
The three Martins are, whose workes we have had.
If Martin the fourthe come after Martins so evill,
Nor man nor beast comes—but Martin the devill.’

One exceeding voluminous title shall close the extracts relating to this ludicrous controversy : ‘ A counter-cuffe given to Martin junior by the venturous, hardie, and renowned, pasquil of England, Cavaliero. Not of old Martin’s making, which newly knighted the saintes in heaven with ‘ Uppe ! Sir Peter, and Sir Paule !’ but latelie dubbed for his service at home, for the defence of his country, and for the cleane breaking of his staffe on Martin’s face. Prynted between the skie and the grounde, wythin a myle of an oke, and not many fields off from the unprivileged presse of the ass-signees of Martin junior.’

[AMES ON PRINTING.]

* Fuller’s Ch. Hist. b. ix. p. 194.

he classed with beings whom he ought to have known to be imaginary. He examined the church-wardens, on oath, whether they knew, among their neighbors or parishioners, any ‘common-swearers,* drunkards, usurers, *witches*, *conjurers*, any that went to conventicles or meetings for saying prayers in private houses,’ &c. &c.

The *cruel*, though not the *absurd*, tendency of this enquiry, struck Sir Francis Knollys so forcibly that he sent them to the treasurer, calling them ‘ Articles of Inquisition highly prejudicial to the Royal Prerogative.’ Yet the archbishop altered them not.

In 1590, John Udal, an eminent Puritan preacher, was tried and condemned to die, on evidence of Udal, which was hardly equal to hear-say,† that he was the author of a very bitter ‘ Demonstration of Discipline,’ dedicated ‘ to the *supposed* Governors of the church of England.’ After lying in prison two years, at the intercession of James King of Scots, and others, he was allowed a pardon on condition of repairing to Asia as chaplain to the Turkey company; but the ships, by some error, sailing without him, he broke his heart and died in confinement.

In the same year died Dr. Thomas Godwyn, Bishop of Bath and Wells, more remarkable for

* Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 309, 313.

† Fuller’s Ch. Hist. b. ix. p. 223.

Cent. XVI. the persecution in which the caprice of Elizabeth, and the avarice of her favorites, involved him, than for any other circumstance. [94]

And of
Cart-
wright.

In 1594, Mr. Cartwright, who was styled ‘Father of the Puritans,’ suffered a long confinement, with several of his friends, by order of the court of the Star-chamber. For him too James of Scots interceded, and was permitted to retire unmolested to an hospital at Warwick, over which he presided. Many Puritans were at this time in prison, and their numbers increased every day,* since, tired of confinement, one or other would frequently, to gain his own liberty, disclose the place where the non-conformists met, and the names of those who attended at these illegal assemblies;

NOTES.

[94] Old, decrepit, and gouty, Dr. Godwyn wedded the elderly widow of a citizen, apparently for her great wealth. Instantly the queen was told that the bride was beautiful and young; that the bishop had promised to alienate, for her sake, half the revenues of the diocese; and that, determined to marry, he had been carried to the altar in an easy chair. In vain did a good-humored earl address the queen with, ‘Madam, I know not how much the lady is under twenty, but I know a son of hers who is more than forty years old.’ The queen chose not to be convinced, and the courtiers said that it made the matter worse, as it took away the only excuse that could be urged for the folly. In fine, Elizabeth so harrassed the poor prelate with slights and frowns, that he gave her minion one of the best episcopal manors, and broke his heart for having joined in the sacrilege.

[BREFE VIEW, &c.]

* Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 371.

blies; and such were instantly pursued by the active vengeance of the high-commission court. [95]

Three execrable blasphemers drew upon themselves the attention of government about this time. William Hacket, [96] their chief, suffered that fate which his detestable profaneness seems to have merited. Coppering died in prison. Arthington, the third, was pardoned on recanting his horrid impieties. He even wrote a book to expose his late folly and prophaneness.

Hacket had styled himself ‘King Jesus,’ had declared Elizabeth bereft of her throne, and had stabbed

NOTES.

[95] It was not only the Puritans who felt the lash of persecution; Edmund Jennings, a priest from Rheims, was executed for celebrating mass against the statute. His death was attended by two miracles as his legend avers. After his heart was taken out, he said, ‘*Sancte Gregori, ora pro me!*’ on which the hangman said, ‘God’s wounds! see! his heart is in my hand, and Gregory is in his mouth!’ The other wonder was, that his thumb came off in the hand of a woman who wished for a relic of such a martyr. [GRAINGER.]

[96] This wretched (and, let us hope, insane) being was born at Oundle in Northamptonshire. His schoolmaster having corrected him, he sprung at him, bit off his nose, and swallowed it, lest it should be replaced. He professed being invulnerable; and, trusting to the law’s safeguard, pressed people to make the experiment by running a sword through his body. However, Dr. Childerly of St. Dunstan’s tried the strength of his arms, and nearly broke the wrists of Hacket (‘although,’ says Fuller, ‘he was a foul, strong lubber’) in the struggle. 4 [FULLER’S WORTHIES.]

Cent. XVI. stabbed her picture with a dagger. As these three had been non-conformists, great endeavors were used by those who hated the Puritans to involve that whole sect in their infamy ; * and many tracts were written in their defence against so odious a charge.

Abject conduct of the commons. In 1592 a bill had nearly passed the lower house, introduced by Mr. Morrice to prevent the bishops from using the oath ‘ *ex officio*,’ by which a man may be obliged to accuse himself ; and to prevent their illegally imprisoning the queen’s subjects. But Elizabeth instantly stopped the progress of the bill, and sent Morrice to Tutbury-castle ; his confinement was long and well-deserved ; for none but a madman would have attempted a project which had been seen four times to miscarry, and which only served to expose the inconsistent parliament to the contempt and ridicule of despotism. Nor had the year ended before the same senate, which had meant so well to civil and ecclesiastical liberty, was brought by the court to pass the severest bill that exists against the Puritan interest ; one which makes it felony, without benefit of clergy, even to raise any doubts of the queen’s power over the affairs of the church.†

Towards the close of 1592 the resentment of the archbishop was directed against the Brownists, who had

* Fuller’s Ch. Hist. b. ix. p. 386.

† Acts, 35 Elizabeth, cap. 1.

had risen again under a Mr. Barrow; these were again become numerous, and Sir Walter Raleigh acquainted the house that he would answer for there being 20,000 of them in Norfolk, in Essex, and near London. It was easy to discover their haunts.* Fifty were seized at once, and committed to prison by order of the high-commission court, where, from the closeness of the room, sixteen of them died. Two of their leaders, Barrow and Greenwood, were executed on a gallows, after having been tried and condemned on the statute Eliz. 23, 'for writing and publishing sundry seditious books,' &c. &c. Two other divines were reprieved at the place of execution.†

Two
Brownists
executed.

That these persons suffered for their obstinacy cannot be denied, since it is certain that they were offered mercy if they would only *promise to come to church.*‡ Yet, as nothing was alleged against them but their dislike of the cap and surplice, of the repetition of the Lord's Prayer, and of a few ceremonies, and their having written in defence of these principles, and not against the queen, but the bishops, they seem to have met with hard measure. There is indeed reason to believe that Elizabeth felt great concern when she heard in what strong professions of loyalty the

two

* Strype's Annals, vol. ult. p. 174, 175.

† Hist. of Pur. p. 558.

‡ Broughton's Works, p. 731.

Cent. XVI. two sufferers employed their latest breath ; and that she directed that no Brownists for the future should suffer a heavier penalty than exile.

Fate of
John
Penry.

In 1593, John Penry, or Ap Henry, a Welsh divine of good abilities, but of a violent temper and unconquerable obstinacy, met with severe treatment. He was seized, as he was on the road to the palace, with a petition in his pocket, which he meant to deliver into the hands of the queen. As he had concealed himself during some years, knowing that he was suspected to be the author of ‘ Martin Mar-prelate ;’ he could not therefore be tried by the statute ‘against seditious words or writings,’* since the given time for bringing in the accusation was elapsed, he was therefore brought to judgment, and executed for papers found in his pocket, ‘ which, though they acknowledged her majesty’s royal power to establish laws, ecclesiastical and civil, had avoided the usual terms of making, enacting, decreeing, and ordaining, laws, which imply a most absolute authority.’

It was about this time, that a much more successful and respectable defender of the English hierarchy than Archbishop Whitgift, arose; a defender whose bulwark will remain unshaken, and attract veneration, when the prisons, the racks, and the gibbets, of the high-commission court, are only recollected with horror.

Richard

* Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 412.

Richard Hooker (styled by Elizabeth ‘the judicious Hooker’) was born near Exeter, and bred at Corpus Christi college in Oxford.* Cent. XVI.
Account
of Rich.
Hooker. Archbishop Whitgift made him Master of the Temple; but, finding too much bustle and distraction in that station, as some say, he retired first to Wiltshire† and then to Kent, that he might give his whole time to the great work he had undertaken.

His ‘Ecclesiastical Polity’ is a cool rational defence of the English church. The principles he lays down are these: 1. That the Scripture, though a standard for doctrine, is not a rule for discipline. 2. That the practice of the Apostles, as they acted according to circumstances, is not an invariable rule for the church. 3. Many things are left indifferent, and may be done without sin, although not expressly directed by scripture. 4. The church, like other societies, may make laws for her own government, provided they interfere not with the Scripture. 5. Human authority may interpose where the Scripture is silent. 6. Hence it follows, that the church may appoint ceremonies within the limits of the Scriptures. 7. All born within the district of an established church ought to submit to it. The church is their mother, and has a maternal power over them. 8. The laws of the church not being moral

are

* Fuller's Worthies, Devonshire, p. 264.

† Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 421.

Cent. XVI. are mutable, and may be changed according to the will of its directors.

His person and manner. ‘ Mr. Hooker’s voice was low,’ says Dr. Fuller, ‘ stature little, gesture none at all ; standing stone-still in the pulpit, as if the posture of his body were the emblem of his minde, immoveable in his opinions.’*

He had had a sharp contest, [97] while he presided at the Temple, with a Puritan of great learning and pulpit elocution, Mr. Travers, concerning the church of Rome ; which Hooker held to be a true church, although not pure nor perfect. Archbishop Whitgift stopped the debate in the outset, by silencing the helpless non-conformist.† This step, though harsh, was, however, not unnecessary ; for when Hooker preached in the morning orthodox doctrine, the subtle Puritan, having listened to his discourse, regularly took the same text in the afternoon, and attacked separately

each

NOTES.

[97] A much severer and more lasting contention was kept up between the good divine and a bitter shrew whom he had unfortunately chosen for a wife. His pupil, Edwin Sandys, came suddenly one day to his retreat in the country, and found him keeping sheep. His consort had sent away the boy who used to assist him, and soon after directed Hooker himself to hasten in doors and tend the rocking of the cradle. It was this unpleasant and humiliating scene which, when represented to the primate, procured for the meek priest the mastership of the Temple.

[BERKENHOUT,

* Fuller’s Ch. History, b. ix. p. 216. † Ibid. p. 217.

each argument which the episcopalian had advanced; and as the audience was composed of the same persons, this contest had a very bad effect on their principles of religion.

In 1594 died Dr. John Elmer,[98] or Aylmer, Dr. Aylmer dies. Bishop of London. He had been preceptor to Lady Jane Gray, had fled to Switzerland from Mary's tyranny, and under Elizabeth had met due preferment. He assisted in translating Fox's Martyrs into Latin, and answered the petulant performances of John Knox. When his audience were languid, he roused their attention by reciting Hebrew verses from a pocket-bible. He had great personal courage; and once had a tooth drawn, to encourage Elizabeth to do the like. His disposition was warm, and as he was exceedingly severe to the Puritans, among whom he had once had been counted, he was assaulted virulently by their sarcastical writers; and was the hero [99] of the celebrated Martin Mar-prelate.*

The

NOTES.

[98] Dr. Aylmer was so very diminutive in size, that once, when hotly pursued as an heretic, he escaped by being concealed in a pipe of wine which had a false bottom; and while Aylmer lay hid in the upper half, wine was drawn from that below.

[FULLER'S WORTHIES.]

[99] That bitter Puritan accompanied the bishop most pitilessly to his domestic amusements. ‘He will cry to his bowle,’ writes Martin, “Rub! Rub! Rub!” and when it goeth

* Fuller's Ch. History, b. ix. p. 223, 224.

Cent. XVI. The same year freed Elizabeth and the reformed churches from their most inveterate enemy, Cardinal Allen, [100] who died at Rome,

NOTES.

goeth too far, he will say, “The divell goe with it!” And then *the bishop will follow!*

Dr. Aylmer’s temperament was too warm to allow him time always to consult the most episcopal plan of acting. He had married a favorite daughter to a celebrated and learned clergyman, named Adam Squire; whose fantastic turn may be guessed by the text of the sermon which he preached on his wedding-day: ‘It is not good for *Adam* to be alone.’ This Adam, however, sought more than one Eve; and meanly tried to extenuate his fault by unmerited recrimination on his innocent wife. But the bishop, who, though a dwarf in stature, had the gallantry of a Paladin, having closely searched into the charge, and found it totally groundless, took the law into his own hands, and so severely chastised the culpable Adam with his cudgel (styled by Harrington ‘a good waster’) that he humbled himself to his lady, and hankered no more after forbidden fruit.

[MART. MAR-PRELATE. HAR. BREFE VIEW.]

[100] This subtle polemic was well-born in Lancashire, and bred at Oriel College, Oxford, where he became head of St. Mary’s Hall. He fled at the accession of Elizabeth, was made a professor at Douay, canon of Rheims, &c. and at length, by a series of signal services against his own country, he merited and obtained the scarlet hat. He may be styled founder of the seminary of Douay, as it was he who collected the English exiles into a body and planted them there. His character is so differently spoken of by two opposite parties, that it is best to leave it in abeyance. His utmost endeavors were certainly exerted to overthrow the government

and

Rome, and chose rather to be buried at the Eng- ^{Cent. XVI.} lish college than at the church of St. Martin, whence he took his title.

In 1595 Dr. Bound, one of the most eminent among the Puritans, made a rude assault on the sports of dancing,* fencing, ringing, wrestling, &c. usual on the Sabbath-day, by a book which he wrote to prove them impious and heathenish. Many people took part with his arguments,[101] and the fashion of the Sunday evening was generally changed from gaiety and mirth to a more sad and formal, but more decent reserve. A Mr. Rogers, some years after, wrote a treatise in answer to this work; but Archbishop Whitgift had instantly on the publication of Bound's performance silenced the author; and Lord Chief Justice Popham had ordered all the copies to be seized and burnt.+

Dr. Whitaker,

NOTES.

and religion of his native island. How far sincerity in *his* religion may excuse his incessant machinations for mischief, will only be known hereafter. [FULLER'S WORTHIES.]

[101] 'On that day,' says Dr. Fuller, 'the stoutest fencer laid down his buckler; the most skilful archer unbent his bow; maygames and morish dances grew out of request; and good reason that bells should be silenced from gingling about men's legs, if their very ringing in steeples were judged unlawful,' &c. &c. [CHURCH HISTORY.]

* Fuller's Ch. History, b. ix. p. 227. Dr. Bound on the Sabbath, p. 202, 206, 209.

+ Rogers's Pref. to the Articles, parag. 20.

Cent. XVI.

Dr. Whitaker, the queen's professor of divinity at Cambridge, died about this time. His passion for theology destroyed him. The question, 'Whether or no, true justifying faith can be lost?' broke his rest and killed him.

Dispute concerning predestination.

A very warm dispute now was revived concerning the doctrines of predestination, free grace, and the advantages derived from the redemption of Jesus Christ. The debate was commenced by a Mr. Barret of Cambridge, who attacked the believers of predestination with great fervor. As the matter was grave and important, a deputation from the university attended on the archbishop at his palace, and there nine articles were settled to regulate the belief of the orthodox. They were subscribed by the primate, by Hutton, Archbishop of York, Fletcher, Bishop of London, Vaughan, of Bangor, and Young, of Rochester; and given, as the primate writes to the university, not as new decrees, but as an explication of certain points 'corresponding to the doctrine professed by the church of England, and already established by the laws of the land.'

Lambeth articles.

1. 'That God from eternity has predestinated some persons to life, and reprobated others to death.'

2. 'The moving or efficient cause of predestination to life is not foreseen faith or good works, or any other commendable quality in the persons predestinated.'

predestinated, but the good will and pleasure of ^{Cent. XVI.} God.

3. ‘The number of the predestinate is fixed, and cannot be lessened or increased.’

4. ‘They who are not predestinated to salvation, shall be necessarily condemned for their sins.’

5. ‘A true, lively, and justifying faith, and sanctifying influence of the Spirit, is not extinguished, nor does it fail or go off either finally or totally.’

6. ‘A justified person has a full assurance and certainty of the remission of his sins, and of his everlasting salvation by Christ.’

7. ‘Saving grace is not communicated to all men; neither have all men such a measure of divine assistance that they may be saved if they will.’

8. ‘No person can come to Christ unless it be given him, and unless the Father draws him; and all men are not drawn by the Father that they may come to Christ.’

9. ‘It is not in every one’s will and power to be saved.’

New opinions, so energetically supported as to Variety become subjects of debate among the heads of the church, sprang up every year. In 1596, Dr. Baro, of new doctrines. an alien, having been, during 25 years, Margaret professor of divinity at Cambridge, humanely argued, that all mankind were born to eternal life; and that the propitiation offered by Jesus Christ for the sins of the human race was meant to confer

Cent. XVI. confer eternal happiness on the whole world.

But the queen, displeased at this too benevolent system, obliged him to be silent,* and retire from his professorship.

A controversy in the same year arose among the learned concerning the nature of Christ's descent into hell; Mr. Hugh Broughton, † a singularly learned polemic, maintaining, that Hades ought to be translated not Hell, but the invisible world.

Pretend-
ed exor-
cist de-
tected.

The year 1597 produced an uncommonly artful and wicked divine of the Puritan persuasion, by name Darrel, who pretended to maintain the frequency of diabolical possessions; and the power of the faithful to cast out devils. As Darrel was not on the side of those in authority, he was closely watched; and detected ‡ at length in a kind of conspiracy with one William Somers of Nottingham, who, after having been trained up four years, had with great dexterity acted the part of one possessed by an evil spirit. Darrel attempted to clear himself chiefly by calling down judgments on his own head if guilty. This had little effect on the public, or on his judges, who condemned him to a long imprisonment for the imposture.

Richard Fletcher, Bishop of London, died about this time. His qualities seem to have been chiefly personal.

* Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 473.

† Heylyn's Hist. of Presb. p. 249.

‡ Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 492, 495.

personal. His stature and figure are commended ; ^{Cent. XVI.} and his riding ‘ the great horse’ is mentioned by all his biographers. He married a gay second wife. Elizabeth, who disliked all marriages, but particularly those in the episcopal line, frowned upon him ; and he was too good a courtier to survive her frown. *

The ecclesiastical branch of English history, during the short remainder of Elizabeth’s [102]

NOTES.

[102] About this time died Dr. Andrew Perne, a man of wit and learning, bred at Peterhouse, Cambridge, of which college he became at length master, as well as vice-chancellor of the university. Although he changed his religion four times in twelve years, he yet was beloved stedfastly by the Protestants, as his interest was exerted to save many from the flames. His turn was extremely sarcastical. He had once chanced to call a clergyman a fool. The irritated priest threatened that he would complain to his bishop. ‘ Go to your bishop,’ replied the bitter Perne, ‘ and he will *confirm* you.’

A jest is said at length to have cost the doctor his life. Elizabeth, at the close of her reign, increased in pettishness and obstinacy. She would ride out in the rain in spite of the humble intreaties of her maidens ; and the only hopes they had of stopping her was to set her buffoon, Clod, to laugh her out of it. ‘ Heaven dissuades you, madam, in the person of Archbishop Whitgift, and earth dissuades you in the shape of your fool, Clod ; and if this will not serve, at least attend to the dissuasions of Doctor Perne, who has long been suspended in religious doubts, between heaven and earth.’ The queen applauded the joke, but the doctor sank under it, accompanied his patron, Dr. Whitgift, to Lambeth, and very soon after expired.

[FULLER’S WORTHIES, &c.]

* Fuller’s Ch. Hist. p. 232.

Cent. XVI. reign, affords little that is worthy of remark. The many abuses which had been encouraged in the spiritual courts were grown so enormous, that the parliament, in 1598, saw the necessity of checking them by a bill. This attempt was as usual frowned on by Elizabeth; and, as usual, it sunk to nothing at her frown. But she seems to have winked at a kind of ‘prohibitions’ which the sufferers easily obtained, and which prevented the ecclesiastical courts from proceeding. Archbishop Whitgift took great offence at this indifference in the queen, but his influence was not sufficient to restore the authority of his courts of judicature.*

As the high-commission court had an unlimited power over all publications, it exerted that power most severely in 1599, by sweeping away from Stationer’s-hall Marston’s *Pygmalion*, Marlowe’s *Ovid*, the Satires of Hall and Marston, with the ‘*Caltha Poetarum*.’ These, by the direction of the prelates, Whitgift and Bancroft, were ordered (together with ‘*The Shadowe of Truth*,’ ‘*Snarling Satires*,’ ‘*The Booke agaynst Women*,’ and ‘*The XV Joyes of Marriage*’) to be instantly burnt. [103] The Books of Nash and Gabriel Har-

vey

NOTES.

* [103] Writers of light or ludicrous essays were now, it must be owned, in danger. While the axe of the *Episcopal* phalanx threatened their very existence, the subtle lash of the *Puritan* lacerated their limbs, and rendered them odious to the fanatic mob.

A kind

* Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 537.

vey were at the same time anathematized; and sa-^{Cent. XVI.}
tires and epigrams were forbidden to be printed
any more. That Hall and Marston should both
be included in the same prohibition seems a sen-
tence grounded on rigor rather than justice,
since, as they darted the stings of their satires
at parties precisely opposite, they could not easily
be both in the wrong. [104]

The

NOTES.

A kind of pantheon was censured, in 1599, by H. G. ‘a painful minister of God’s word in Kent,’ as ‘the spawne of Italian Gallimaufry.’ And George Potter publisbed in the same year ‘A Commendacyon of true Poetry, and a Discom- mendacyon of all baudy, pyebalde, paganized, Poets.’

[104] The enthusiastic attachment of the Puritans to the Song of Solomon, and one particular version among many, styled ‘The Poem of Poems, or Sion’s Muse, contayning the divine Song of King Solomon, divided into eight Eclogues,’ dedicated to ‘the sacred Virgin, divine Mistress Elizabeth Syd- ney, sole Daughter of the ever-admired Sir Philip Sidney,’ were intolerable to the keen spirit of Dr. Hall; (afterwards Bishop of Norwich, and of whom more will be said in another reign) and after having mentioned another poem, probably of the same cast, he proceeds,

‘ Yea, and the prophet of the heavenly lyre,
Great Solomon, sings in the English quire,
And is become a new-found sonnetist,
Singing his love, the holie spouse of Christ ;
Like as she were some ‘ light skirtes’ of the rest,
In mightiest inkhornisms he can thither wrest.
Ye ‘ Sion Muses’ shall, by my clear will,
For this your zeel and self-admired skill,

Cent. XVI. The transactions between the crown of England and the Roman Catholics, as they relate more to the civil than the ecclesiastical branch of this work, have been chiefly ranged under that head ; where also may be found some account of the dispute between the Jesuits and secular priests, which took place at the close of this busy reign.

Conduct
of Eliza-
beth ac-
counted
for.

It may perhaps be expected that some judgment should here be passed on the conduct [105] of Elizabeth

NOTES.

Be straight transported from Jerusalem
Unto the holie house of Bethlehem.'

But John Marston, a sober bard, of whom little is known, but of whom Langbaine speaks with great respect and consideration, answered the caustic bard in no contemptible verse :

' Come daunce, ye stumbling satyres, by his syde,
If he list once the Sion muse deride.
Ye, Granta's white nymphis, come, and with you bringe
Some syllabub, whilst he doth swetely singe
'Gainst Peter's teares, and Marie's moving moane;
And, like a fierce enraged bore, doth foame
At sacred Sonnets.—O dire hardiment !
At Bartas' sweet semaines, rail impudent !
At Hopkins, Sternhold, at the Scottish king,
At all translators that do strive to bring
That stranger language to our vulgar tongue,' &c. &c.

[MARSTON'S SATIRES, B. IV.

[105] Nothing can be more amusing to a cool dispassionate reader of history than to observe the contradictory sentiments of warm party writers, when treating on the same subject. Thus we find in Carte's English History, that ' it is much to be lamented that she (Elizabeth) acted by halves in the establishment of the church of England. She had scarce restored it

before

Elizabeth to the various sects into which her subjects were divided. But facts, not opinions, are what a historian ought to present to the public; and when those facts are candidly told, to reason upon them, seems only unwarrantably to forestall the judgment of the reader. Should that reader condemn the severe proceedings of the queen against men respectable for their piety, learning, eloquence, and sufferings; men to whose indefatigable and incessant zeal for reformation she owed the very power which she exerted to oppress them: men who only disobeyed her ordinances

NOTES.

before she impoverished it; and though the Puritans opposed her favorite branch of the royal prerogative, broke through all order and decency, and carried on their opposition to the liturgy, government, and discipline of the established church, with an unparalleled insolence, and she might easily have suppressed them at first; yet, by the unsteadiness of her proceedings, prosecuting them one while to give them a colour to complain of persecution; and another while stopping the execution of the laws against them; she left that turbulent set of men in a condition that enabled them to distress her successor, &c. &c. &c.

* She understood not,' says a writer of very opposite principles, 'the rights of conscience in matters of religion, and therefore is justly chargeable with persecuting principles. She countenanced all the engines of persecution, as spiritual courts, &c. and stretched her prerogative to support them beyond the law, and against the sense of the nation.'

Could one well suppose that both these historians were men of integrity, and both wrote of the same person? Yet such is the fact.

Cent XVI. nances in trifles almost too ludicrous for a serious complaint; in preferring a round cap to a cap with four corners; the extenuation of her apparent inhumanity would soon present itself. He would find that the desire of curbing the then unlimited power of the crown went, among the Puritans, hand in hand with their wishes to avoid the ceremonies of the church. And if he will consult the Journals of D'Ewes,* he will be satisfied that the speeches of Strickland, Carleton, Yelverton, and particularly of Peter Wentworth, the great support of the Puritan party, were as much aimed at the enormities of the sceptre as of the crozier. The sagacious daughter of Henry VIII. penetrated into their designs; and, as she was determined never to yield a tittle of the power which her father had exercised, she applied severity as the only argument which would have any effect on those whom she thought unreasonable mal-contents. Yet were her great qualities universally acknowledged; and a generous, though a bitter foe to her intol-

Candor of *a professed enemy.* rant character, thus expresses himself at the close of her reign: ‘ But with all these blemishes Queen Elizabeth stands on record as a wise and politic princess; and though her Protestant subjects were divided about church affairs, they all discovered

* D'Ewes's Journal, p. 156, 157, 175, 176, 236, 237.

discovered a high veneration for her royal per- ^{cent.}**XVI.** son and government; on which account she was the glory of the age in which she lived, and will be the admiration of posterity.' *

* Neal's Hist. of Puritans, vol. i. p. ult.

CHAP. II.—PART I.

SECTION II.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND, FROM THE DEATH OF JAMES V. A. D. 1542, TO THE ACCESSION OF JAMES I. AND VI. TO THE CROWNS OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND, A. D. 1603.

THE stroke which slew Cardinal Beaton, in ^{Cent. XVI.} 1546, proved fatal to the interest of the Papal church in Scotland. No leader of talents and spirit could be found to head the Roman Catholics; and there was only remaining in the party a fatal power of irritating the spirits of the reformed, by persecuting their brethren.* The courts of justice were, indeed, still in their hands; and it was by direction of one of these, in 1550, that Adam Wallace, a harmless rustic, expired at a stake in Edinburgh. Nor did the absurd dispute among the Scottish clergy, ‘Whether or no the Lord’s Prayer might be addressed to the saints?’† increase the respect of the nation for a declining cause. [106] This heresy was checked

by

NOTES.

[106] The arguments of a disputing friar on this subject may amuse the reader. “Our Father” we may surely say to the saints as to any old man we meet in the streets. “Which art in heaven.” Good! we know each of them to be in heaven.

* Spotswood, p. 90.

† Ibid. p. 91.

~~Cent. XVI.~~ by a synod, and a small catechism was printed in English by authority, for the use of congregations, which was styled by the vulgar, ‘The Twopenny faith.’

The Protestants lost, in 1553, a prudent, but witty and spirited friend, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, whose sarcastic muse had been employed with great success in the cause of reformation.[107]

In

NOTES.

heaven. “ Hallowed be thy name.” Yes, God has sanctified their names. “ Thy kingdom come.” Heaven is their kingdom by inheritance. “ Thy will be done.” Had not their will been the will of God they had not been there.’ Thus far the monk had proceeded with plausibility; but not being able to gloss over the prayer for ‘ daily bread,’ his rough audience burst into laughter, and the shouts and hisses of those who met him in the street, drove him from St. Andrew’s the scene of his confusion.

[SPOTISWOOD.]

[107] Sir David Lindsay was a statesman and a poet as well as a reformer. He was born in 1490, and bred at the university of St. Andrew’s. In 1514 he returned from travelling through Europe, and soon after was entrusted with the education of his young king, James V. After the death of that prince, in 1542, Sir David became a favorite with Arran, the regent; but finding the Archbishop of St. Andrew’s (the regent’s brother) to be his enemy, he retired to his estate, and spent the rest of his days in literary leisure. Sir David was a man of great learning, and considerable skill in heraldry; in the court of which he bore an office. He had likewise been employed on embassies to Charles V. and to Francis I.

The poetical works of Lindsay are voluminous, and have great merit. He was a thorough friend to the reformation; and seems to have prepared the way for John Knox by his poems,

In 1554 the stern John Knox, of whom much has been said in a former book, returned to Edinburgh; and, notwithstanding the intolerance of the times, and the friendly cautions of the courtly Maitland of Lethington, he thundered from the pulpit of a private meeting with eloquence so adapted to the unpolished minds of his hearers, that

NOTES.

poems, which were so obnoxious as to be publicly burnt at Edinburgh by the Popish assembly in 1558. Sir David thus speaks of a now-forgotten pageant:

‘ Of Edinburgh the great idolatrie,
And manifest abomination !
On thair feist day all crëature may see
Thay beir an awld stok-image (*a*) throw the town,
With talbrone, (*b*) trumpet, shalme, and claroun,
Quilk has been usid mony on year bygone,
With priestis, and frairs, into processiouin,
Sic lyke as Baal was borne thro’ Babilone.’

In another poem he thus attacks the vanity of female trains :

‘ Every lady of the land
Should have her tail (*c*) so syde-trailand, (*d*)
Quharever thay go it may be sene
How kirk and calsay (*e*) thay suepe clene.
Kittok, that clekkit (*f*) was yestrene,
The morn will counterfete the quene;
And muirland Megg, that milk’d the cowis,
Claggit (*g*) with clay about the howis,
In barn nor byir scho woll not byde,
Without her kyrtle tail beside.
They waste mair claih within few yeres,
Than wolde claih syftie score of freres.’

(*a*) Wooden image. (*b*) Tabor. (*c*) Train. (*d*) Trailing on one side. (*e*) Sweep the church and causeway clean. (*f*) Kitty that was born yesterday, next morn will, &c. (*g*) Clogged.

Cent. XVI. that the regular churches were deserted. For this contempt Knox was cited by the bishops ; who, nevertheless, dared not proceed against him ; so popular was his doctrine, and so well was he supported by the numbers who admired his principles and his intrepidity.

Wealth
and pro-
fligacy
of the
Scottish
clergy.

If any members of a hierarchy could be said to be ripe for a fall, those who now governed the Scottish church certainly came under that description. The slain cardinal had lived many years in a free and open commerce with a woman of quality, and had publicly celebrated the marriage* of his and her daughter, with a son of the Lord Crawfurd ; nor were the other prelates entitled to the praise of a better life than the primate. The Archbishop of St. Andrew's, in particular, set an example of the most licentious and dissolute manners.

The riches of the Scottish ecclesiastics far exceeded their just proportion. They paid one half of every impost laid on land ; and there is no reason to think that a body so potent would permit themselves to be over-rated. These vast possessions, it must be owned, contributed much to the abolition of the Roman Catholic faith in both the island-kingdoms. The people had long felt with displeasure that superiority with which the wealth, the power, and the subtlety of the clergy

* Keith, p. 42.

clergy had endowed them ; and greedily swallowed any doctrines which taught that these revenues, having been alienations unjustly made by antient possessors, might be with justice reclaimed. They enjoyed with transport the complex idea of lowering the pride and luxury of each pampered priest, and of profiting by his spoils. When motives like these were reinforced by strong nervous appeals to conscience and common sense, it cannot be a matter of wonder that a reformation should burst forth with the ardor of a volcano.*

In 1556, Knox, having been elected preacher to the English church at Geneva, left his friends in Scotland for a while. Scarcely had he departed ere he was cited anew, condemned, and burnt in effigy at the market-cross at Edinburgh.† His absence was fortunate for the cause of reformation. That great work, from motives of policy, was connived at by Mary of Guise, the regent, and gained, silently, ground every day. But had the fierce Northern apostle remained in Scotland, the train might have caught fire before measures were in forwardness to second the explosion.

Meanwhile, that hatred to the French which was with the Scots a new, but a favorite, passion, aided the new faith in its progress ; nor could the natives think well of a religion, whose professors

had

* Robertson, vol. i. p. 128, 129.

+ Spotiswood, p. 94.

Cent. XVI. had plundered their country, and, as they believed, poisoned their ambassadors.

Walter
Mills
burnt.

The barbarous execution of Walter Mills,* an old decrepit priest, who had only offended by restraining for some time from celebrating the mass, seems to have signed the death-warrant of the Roman Catholic religion in Scotland. It affected his brethren in faith so sensibly, that they united in a resolution to defend each other by force of arms, should the persecution continue. Luckily the mere determination had a good effect ; and Walter Mills was the last martyr who suffered by the flames [108] in Scotland.

The very close connection of the Scottish civil and military history with that of the church, has necessarily

NOTES.

[108] The good old reformer died with wonderful intrepidity. During his examination he had answered with an acuteness strongly savoring of wit. *Oliphant*, a priest, asked him, ‘ Say you there are not seven Sacraments ? ’

W. Mills. ‘ Give me the Lord’s Supper and Baptism, and part the rest among you.’

Oliphant. ‘ What think you of matrimony ? ’

W. Mills. ‘ I think it a blessed bond. You abhor it, and take other men’s wives and daughters.’

Oliphant. ‘ What of the administration of the Sacrament ? ’

W. Mills. ‘ I will tell you. A Lord inviteth many to dinner ; he ringeth his bell, and they come into his hall ; he then turneth his back on the called guests, and catcheth and drinketh all himself, giving them no part ; *and so do you*,’ &c. &c.

[SPOTISWOOD, &c.]

* Spotiswood, p. 95.

necessarily occasioned the proceedings of the ^{Cent. XVI.} associated reformers, ‘The Lords of the Congregation,’ to be told in a former book. The timely aid of the English Elizabeth extricated the Scots from the snares of the French; and the death of Francis II. of France, the husband of Queen Mary, which happened not long after, gave them a fair prospect of enjoying their favorite religion undisturbed

The parliament, in 1560, was perfectly dis-^{Popery} posed to establish the Protestant faith. Petitions* ^{abolish-}_{ed.} in favor of reformation were kindly received; and the few Roman Catholics who sat in the house were silent, as they saw their party contemptibly weak. There was little difficulty in carrying every wished-for point. The Papal authority was abolished; the service appointed to be read no longer in Latin; a confession of faith, agreeable to the principles of reformation, was adopted; and general directions given in favor of the new doctrines. [109] Sir James Sandilands was directed, before the house broke up, to carry to the queen, in France, an account of what had been done,

NOTES.

[109] So little had the Protestant Scots learned to profit by the odious appearance of that persecution which had martyred their brethren, that one of their new laws enacted death as the punishment for a third offence against its directions as to church-worship.

[ROBERTSON.]

* Knox, p. 237.

Cent. XVI. done, together with strong professions of loyal affection. He performed the task, met with a very disobliging * reception, and returned much displeased with the politics of the family of Guise.

New or-
dinances
for the
church.

A convention being held at Edinburgh, in 1561, it was judged proper by the friends of reformation to consult on a new system of establishment for the Scottish church.

In those countries where a change of faith had been begun by the governing powers, as in England, it merits observation that the episcopal function had only been weakened and diminished, and not utterly abolished ; but, where the lower orders stood forward as the first movers of innovations in point of religion, both bishops and their cathedrals have been laid low, and the priesthood brought to an unqualified level.

It was nearly on this latter system that Knox, Willock, and the leading members of what soon began to be called the Presbyterian church, meant to form the ecclesiastical plan for Scotland. They proposed, indeed, to have ten or twelve superintendants in lieu of bishops,† but to grant them little power and no rank. They had prepared a complete book of discipline, and a long and particular ‘Form of Church Policy,’‡ and presented both to their powerful friends in the convention. Both were

* Knox, p. 255.

+ Spotswood, p. 158.

‡ Ibid. p. 152.

were received graciously; and although the latter ^{Cent. XVI.} was not regularly passed into a law, it was signed by most of the members, and carried into execution. One part, however, was carefully excepted—that which allotted national and beneficial uses for the church revenues. These had been Church seized by laymen, and not a penny would one of the plunderers consent to restore. They were ready to promise, indeed, that the clergy should be decently provided for from a part of them; but even that promise they forgot to fulfil. A nobleman declared Knox's plan to be ‘a pious imagination; no better than a dream, as it could never take effect.’* But that warm reformer should have taken, in due season, the advice sent him some time before by the shrewdly discerning Archbishop of St. Andrew's. ‘He has begun too hastily,’ said the subtle prelate, ‘and pulls down before he has got a substitute to set up in the place. Things, it is true, want reformation; but the revenues of the church have been the work of ages, and should not be destroyed, nor put out of the hands they are now in, until a better use be appointed for them.’ Such was the purport of the archbishop's counsel; and he added, with some candor, ‘Master Knox, I know, esteemeth me an enemy; but tell him from me, that he shall find it true as I speak.’†

An

* Knox, p. 256. Spotswood, p. 174. † Spotswood, ibid.

Cent. XVI. An act passed in the same convention for demolishing cloisters, abbey churches, &c. and the execution of it was committed to different sets of noblemen and gentlemen as a meritorious and necessary work.

If it were certain that the Protestant doctrines could not have found admittance to the kingdom of Scotland until every beautiful and venerable edifice were demolished, beauty and grace must undoubtedly have given way to the more important concern of salvation; but if, as probably was the case, the love of that poor plunder which a ruined cathedral could bestow, was the motive of the great men; and if the lower orders were only moved by hatred and envy of the indolent, luxurious monks, and a puerile passion for destroying what their wit could never raise, then no appellation with which the much less offending, because ignorant, Goth has been loaded, can be too severe to be applied to those who framed and who executed that illiberal [110] ordinance.

In

NOTES.

[110] ‘The very sepulchres of the dead were not spared; the registers of the church, and the Bibliothekes, cast into the fire. In a word, all was ruined.’ One of the most lamentable among these acts of brutality, ‘goaded by avarice, was the destruction of Aberdeen’s beautiful and stately cathedral. ‘The barons of the Merns,’ says the writer of the above, ‘accompanied by some townsmen of Aberdeen, having demolished

the

In 1561 the necessities of the Protestant clergy Cent.XVI.
 throughout the kingdom were become too pressing to be any longer left without attention. They had, indeed, no support whatever. Most of the Popish ecclesiastics continuing to hold their revenues, although prevented by the populace from doing any duty; and those benefices which were not in their hands having been seized by the most powerful land-holders in their neighborhood.

It may be easily supposed that great difficulties attended this discussion; it was, however, settled at length, that an exact account of all the church property should be taken;* that two thirds of the whole should be vested in the actual occupiers; that the remaining third should be put in the hands of government; and that, out of that third, all the parish clergy should be paid.

The stipends which this allotment would afford were very small; for very unfair accounts of revenues were delivered in, and the thirds due from the most powerful noblemen were generally passed over. + Indeed the extreme penury to which

the

NOTES.

the monasteries of the Black and Gray Friars, fell to rob the cathedral, which they despoiled of all its costly ornaments and jewels, and demolished the chancel. Having shipped the lead, bells, and other utensils, intending to expose them to sale in Holland, all this ill-gotten wealth sunk (by the just judgment of God on sacrilege) not far from the Gridleness.'

[SPOTISWOOD'S SCOTTISH HISTORY.]

* Spotiswood, p. 183. + Keith, App. p. 188.

Cent.XVI. the Scottish ministers were reduced by this hard measure, was the source of unceasing complaints and remonstrances during many years; nor will this appear strange when the reader is told, that *twenty-four thousand pounds Scottish** appears to have been the whole sum allowed for the yearly maintenance of a national church.

The ecclesiastical transactions for some years were not important in Scotland. That narrow bigotry which, in 1563, denied to the sovereign the exercise of her religion, and the candor and honor of her brother, the Lord James Stuart, which estranged from him, for a time, the stern Knox's regard, have been already recorded.

Baptism of James. In 1566, the baptism of the young James by the ritual of Rome [111] gave much displeasure to the Protestant clergy; [112] nor were they consoled

NOTES.

[111] One trifling and indelicate circumstance excepted.

[SPOTISWOOD.]

[112] The superintendent of Lothian waited on Mary to ask that the prince might be baptized a Protestant. The queen gave no positive answer, but treated him with great politeness, and sent for the child. As soon as he came the good priest took him in his arms, knelt down, and with great energy pronounced an orison for his future good conduct and fortune; and, having finished the prayer, with great puerility, and much to the diversion of Mary, he bade the infant 'say Amen for himself.' The superintendent lived long; and was never known at court, nor spoken of by Mary or James, by any other name than 'Amen.'

[SPOTISWOOD.]

* Keith, ubi supra. Spotiswood, p. 198.

consoled when they saw the Archbishop of St. Andrew's restored to his functions as to registering of wills, and the control of the spiritual court. Cent. XVI.

A letter appears, dated in the same year, sent by the Assembly of the Scottish church to the English bishops on behalf of some non-conformist preachers; who, as they express it, 'refuse those Romish rags,' meaning the vestments. The application had no effect, although couched in language suited to the times, scurrilous and enthusiastic.

The very little weight which the clergy of Scotland seem to have had when they endeavored to obtain redress for their own grievances, when contrasted with their power of exciting the citizen and the rustic to tumult, seems wholly unaccountable. Potent as they were over the minds of their congregations, the ministers were not able, though headed in their remonstrances by the emphatic Knox, to gain from the parliament even a decent provision; and although, in 1567, when the assistance of their zeal and eloquence was needed by the Earl of Murray, the restoration of the church's patrimony was solemnly, by articles,* promised, yet no such step was taken; and annual complaints of suffering pastors disgrace the journals of parliament.

* Spotswood, p. 209.

Cent. XVI. In the same year the Assembly of the Church A bishop deposed the Bishop of Orkney, Adam Hepburn, deposed. for having wedded the queen to the Earl of Bothwell; and, having cited the Countess of Argyle to appear, she was made to perform public penance in the chapel at Stirling, on a Sunday after sermon, for having been present at the Papistical baptism of the Prince of Scotland.*

Regula-
tions for
the as-
sembly of
the cler-
gy.

In 1568 the Bishop of Orkney was, on his submission to the assembly, replaced in his see; at the same meeting, John Willock, the moderator, complaining of the confused state of the assembly, it was ordered, that only superintendants, visitors of churches, commissioners of shires and universities, and such ministers whom the superintendants should chuse, and for whose discretion they should answer, might be admitted to speak and vote.†

Bishops
received.

The year 1572 saw three Protestant ministers introduced by the Earl of Morton as bishops, to the convention then sitting at Leith. As it was publicly known that these prelates enjoyed but a small part of the episcopal revenues, and were only named bishops that certain great men might more plausibly possess the rest of the income, it is astonishing that a procedure so grossly simoniacal could be connived at by the assembly and by John Knox. But the assembly dreaded the regent, and the intrepid John Knox was no more,

or

* Spotiswood, p. 214.

+ Ibid. p. 219.

or at least was very near his decease.* He ex-^{Cent. XVI.}
pired within the year. [113]

Death of

J. Knox.

Little worth recording seems to have fallen out until 1574, when the artful regent, Morton, contrived to persuade the clergy, that if they would surrender into his hands the thirds which had been appointed to be managed by the superintendents for their profit, he would undertake to enlarge

NOTES.

[113] The demise of John Knox was adorned both with piety and philosophy, and, as his followers added, with the gift of prophecy. To the Earl of Morton, who attended his last moments, he gave a spirited admonition, and warned him of his fate if he did not amend. To Kirkaldie of Grange, then holding the castle of Edinburgh, he sent an affecting message, reproaching him for deserting his old friends. He then took particular attention to the making and fitting of his coffin, and departed with serenity both of mind and of countenance.

Archbishop Spotswood takes pains to prove that Knox was not the author of that 'History of the Church' which bears his name, and brings strong circumstantial evidence. Knox (he observes) is made in that history to refer to Fox's Martyrology; a book which was not published till twelve years after his death.

The features of Knox's character were stern and unamiable; but those very qualities made him a fit instrument to be employed in the reformation of a fierce, unpolished nation. Zeal, intrepidity, and disinterestedness, were qualities allowed to him even by his enemies. He was acquainted with the learning which his age mostly cultivated, and was peculiarly excellent in that species of rough eloquence which is calculated to rouse and inflame. He had lived 67 years.

[SPOTISWOOD. ROBERTSON, &c.

* Spotswood, p. 266.

Cent. XVI. enlarge their very moderate stipends. Trusting to this promise, they allowed him to seize their revenue, and he, in return, with a total dereliction of all honor, augmented their distress, by appointing three or four churches to one minister, and paying the incumbent very indifferently. This caused a complete breach between Morton and the priesthood; nor could he ever find the means of reconciliation.

Andrew
Melvill
succeeds
him.

In 1518 Mr. Andrew Melvill, the leading man among the Scottish clergy since the decease of Knox, and who most resembled him in intrepidity, ferocity, and insensibility, presented to the convention a form of church policy. This was approved by that assembly; was allowed to be right and proper; and confirmed as to almost every article, except such as had any tendency to take the estates of the church from the present lay-possessors.

Finding little hopes of obtaining a decent subsistence, the members of the assembly, unable to cope with their interested parliamentary adversaries, turned their resentment against an order which they hated and perhaps somewhat envied; and urged Dr. Boyd, Archbishop of Glasgow, to permit his episcopal power and revenue to be reformed, according to the regulations of the Presbyterian church. But the good and learned prelate, (for such Dr. Spotswood affirms him to have been) after firmly and modestly refusing to submit,

submit, found the dread of such a contention too ^{Cent. XVI.} alarming for his age and weak state of health.

He grew melancholy and died, after bitterly reproaching the ingratitude of Melvill; who, although he had educated him, and promoted him to be Principal of the university of Glasgow, had stirred up this persecution, and had treated his benefactor with public incivility.*

As the Scottish reformers made war equally on superstition and on taste, it cannot be a matter of surprise that the ferocious Andrew Melvill should incite his hearers, in 1579, to demolish the magnificent and beautiful cathedral of Glasgow. ‘It drew the Papists together;’ he said, ‘it was too large for the voice, and several little churches might be formed from the materials.’ His Gothic eloquence had prevailed on the magistrates to take the work in hand; they had collected masons, quarriers, and other laborers, around the close; and that cathedral, the only relique of ecclesiastical splendor in Scotland, had fallen in precipitated ruin, had not the ‘Crafts,’ or mechanics, gallantly stood forth and protected the ornament of their city. They heard the bell which gave the signal of destruction; they rushed out in arms, placed themselves round their altars, and swore that the first man who touched the sacred walls should be buried in the ruin he had made.

* Spotiswood, p. 303.

Cent. XVI. made. Frighted at this exertion, the magistrates abandoned their design. A faint attempt was made to punish the insurgents ; but, young as he was, the infant king applauded the conduct of those who had defended the cathedral, and observed, that ‘ too much mischief had already been done.’*

Bishops exploded. In 1580, the Assembly of the Church, convened at Dundee, voted that the office of a bishop had no foundation in the word of God ; and therefore they gave notice to all bishops to quit their sees, and to desist even from the *ministerial* + function, until the same authority should give them permission to resume it.

It may easily be supposed with what indignation this rash ordinance was received ; indeed it appears to have disgusted many of the ministers themselves ; and, in 1581, it was objected to in the assembly ; but a new and interesting business now came forward.

Lenox makes an arch-bishop. The Duke of Lenox had been persuaded to appoint one Robert Montgomery to the Arch-bishopric of Glasgow, on condition of his paying almost all the revenue to his patron. [114] Had

NOTES.

[114] This kind of prelate was humorously baptized a ‘ Tulchan bishop ;’ a ‘ tulchan ’ is a calf’s skin stuffed, and presented to the cow, that, mistaking it for her calf, she may let down her milk.

[HIST. OF CH. OF SCOTLAND.]

* Spotswood, p. 304.

+ Ibid. p. 311.

Had the assembly assaulted the simoniacal tendency of this contract it might have succeeded, but it was the episcopal appointment to which it objected. The king insisted on this point being dropped, and referred to the conduct of the assembly held at Leith in 1582, where it was agreed, that bishops might be appointed to the church until the king should be of age, and make such orders as might be convenient. The assembly then enquired into the moral character of Montgomery, and presented to the king some very extraordinary* charges against him, but without effect. It was therefore obliged to be contented with prohibiting the obnoxious prelate from all episcopal function. Some of the ministers, particularly Walter Balcanquel, spoke of the king's conduct with unseemly harshness. ^{A bold preacher.} ‘Papacy,’ he said, ‘had entered the country and the court, and was maintained in the king's hall by tyranny of a champion called “Grace.”’ But if his Grace continued to oppose God, and his word, he should come to little *grace* in the end.’ This wretched conceit displeased the king, who complained

NOTES.

It was not only Montgomery at whom the anger of the assembly was pointed: nearly at the same time, Dr. Adamson was appointed to succeed Dr. Douglas as Archbishop of St. Andrew's; and, as there was a kind of rivalry between him and John Melvill, in learning and eloquence, great uneasiness followed his promotion.

* Spottiswood, p. 316.

Cent. XVI. complained of him to the assembly. Finding, however, that Balcanquel had too many friends there, James withdrew his accusation; but the assembly would not let the matter drop, but tried Balcanquel, and declared, to the king's great displeasure, his doctrine to have been good and sound.*

In the same year the church was indulged, by the profligate Arran, with a statute to prevent the appointment of two or three churches to the care of one minister.

In 1582, Montgomery, whose character seems to have been but indifferent, both as to morality or political principles, after apparently submitting to the decrees of the church, changed his mind on meeting a cool reception at court, and determined to maintain his right to the see of Glasgow, independent of the assembly. And the king, having determined to support him, imprisoned† the moderator of the Glasgow presbytery for not attending to his warrant, and desisting from a process against the unsteady prelate. This, and the expulsion of John Dury, a violent preacher, exasperated the populace, and gave great offence to the heads of the church. They fasted and remonstrated, but both in vain. They even excommunicated Montgomery; but still the Duke of Lenox protected him, nor heeded the complaints

James
supports
episcopacy.

* Spottiswood, p. 317.

† Ibid. p. 319.

complaints of those who were deputed to acquaint him with the anathema.

The ‘Raid of Ruthven’ altered the face of affairs, and the preachers, again triumphant, loudly, and with great commendation, extolled from their pulpits an enterprize which brought their friends into power; while the young king, prudently yielding to the fortune of the day, owned, ‘that he believed religion was in hazard, and his own danger was connected with the attempts made to overturn the national church.’

The leaders of the Presbyterians had hardly time to make any advantage of this favorable event before the king had regained his authority, and replaced his favorite, but odious and profligate, minister, the Earl of Arran. In consequence, Dury, who had returned to his charge, was again silenced, and the zealous and turbulent preachers. Andrew Melville, who had preached, ‘that James had perverted the laws* both of God and man,’ driven from the city. He fled to England, and the churches of Edinburgh resounded most incautiously with loud complaints, ‘that James had extinguished the light of learning† in his kingdom, and deprived the church of its most faithful defender.’

But little did these complaints avail, since the independence of the church of Scotland was doomed, in the same year, 1584, to receive its death-

* Spottiswood, p. 330.

† Ibid.

Cent. XVI. death-wound. Determined on humbling a power too nearly equal to that of the crown, James summoned a parliament in haste. The members were devoted to the court, and carried on their task with vigor and secrecy, and the Lords of Articles were sworn to silence.

Terrified at these ominous precautions, the presbytery sent David Lindsay, a minister, to explore the cause ; but he was intercepted and sent to prison ; others were refused admittance ;* and until the explosion, the ministers were entirely unacquainted with the extent of their danger.

Power
of the
church re-
strained.

Those ecclesiastics, who had hitherto kept the king and the parliaments in awe, had reason to be alarmed. The laws which had been enacted in secrecy were meant to disarm the church of its most formidable weapons. It was now ordained, that ‘ The refusal to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the privy-council, the pretending to an exemption from the authority of the civil courts, the attempting to diminish the rights of any of the three estates in parliament, were HIGH TREASON ;’ and that ‘ To hold any assembly, civil or ecclesiastical, without the king’s permission or appointment, and to utter, either privately or publicly, in sermons, &c. any false and scandalous reports against the king, his ancestors, or ministers, were CAPITAL CRIMES.’†

An

* Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 565.

† Parl. 8 Jac. VI.

An universal consternation seized both the ^{Cent. XVI.} shepherds and their flocks on the promulgation ^{The king} of these extensive ordinances, by which the ^{unpopu-}
^{lar.} power of the church was done away, and the ministers as completely deprived of all consequence and authority as they had been of pecuniary emoluments by the rapacity of the men of interest. The most intemperate of the preachers, dreading proceedings '*ex post facto,*' fled to England. The king was universally reported to have become a Papist; and the general disaffection gained such ground, that it was judged necessary to publish a justification of the king's measures, in which the 'petulance of the Edinburgh ministers, the insult offered to government, by ordering a fast on the day when a feast was given to the French ambassadors,' and other perverse dealings of the preachers, were summed up and given as reasons for the edict.*

Before the close of 1584, the ministers remaining in Edinburgh were called on by the council, and directed to subscribe a paper of articles to the purport of an acknowledgment, that all the rules and ordinances lately appointed, respecting the church, were good and salutary. Not many could be prevailed on to sign such a declaration, and another emigration to England took place.

A new

* Spotswood, p. 334.

Cent.XVI. A new revolution having, in 1585, restored Exiles re-stored. the lords concerned in the ‘Raid of Ruthven’ to the favor of James, the ministers of the church expected to have been re-instated in their consequence; but so bold a measure was not attempted, and a passionate preacher suffered for venting virulent complaints.

In 1586 a general assembly was held, and measures taken to compromise a disgraceful feud between Archbishop Adamson and John Melvill, who had reciprocally hurled excommunication at each other. The episcopal name and office was there confirmed to the church, although much diminished in power and revenue; the prelate yielded to the new rules, and his excommunication was annulled.* Notwithstanding this proceeding, Melvill and others openly declared, that they still looked on the archbishop as one ‘justly delivered over to Satan.’

Church lands annexed to the crown.

In 1587 a parliament was called on the king’s attaining the age of twenty-one. It was an important one to the Scottish church, for it settled the whole of the church lands on the king, except such as had been granted away. The tithes were reserved for the incumbent’s support, as was the mansion-house for his residence. The Protestant bishops suffered most by this arrangement, but they

* Spotswood, p. 347.

they were neither potent nor popular, so that ^{Cent. XVI.} none listened to their remonstrances.*

The extreme danger of the unfortunate Mary prompted the king to direct prayers to be said on her behalf in all the churches of the capital. This natural and humane duty many of the preachers refused. Such was the bigotry of the time! [115]

A sense of general danger from the vast preparations of the Roman Catholics at this juncture, united the greater number of the Scots, and incited them to join in a national covenant. By this solemn tie they bound themselves to defend their religion, and the person of their king, from all enemies, domestic and foreign.[†] The king, the noblemen, the clergy, and the people, subscribed it with equal alacrity. No measure could be better adapted to oppose the Roman Catholic league, which had united half Europe against toleration.

Scotland at this time swarmed with Jesuits, and the kirk ministers, excusing themselves by their dread of Popery, headed a vast mob, and surrounded the king in his palace of Holyrood-house,

NOTES.

[115] Yet the prayer was modest: ‘ That God would please to illuminate her with the light of his truth; and save her from the apparent danger into which she was cast.’

* Parl. 2 Jac. VI. cap. 29.

† Dunlop’s Collection, vol. ii. p. 228.

Cent. XVI. house, and demanded some speedy measures to be pursued against that obnoxious fraternity.

James
soothes
the kirk
ministers.

Nothing of importance occurred in the church history of Scotland, except jealous remonstrances of the ministers against the favors shewn to Papists, and fretful petitions for more power and larger stipends, until 1590; when the king, whose partiality to the Roman Catholic peers had rendered him unpopular, seeking to gain the affections of the Presbyterians, attended their general assembly held at Edinburgh in August; there, ‘taking off his bonnet,* with his eyes and hands lifted to heaven,’ he thus addressed the solemn throng. ‘He praised God that he was born in the time of the light of the Gospel, and in such a place as to be king of such a kirk, the sincerest kirk in the world. The church of Geneva,’ added he, ‘keeps Pasch and Yule;† what have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbor kirk in England, their service is an evil said mass in English; they want nothing of the mass but its liftings. I charge you, my good people, elders, doctors, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, stand to your purity, and exhort the people to do the same; and I forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown, shall do the same.’

Not long after, in 1592, favors of real value were conferred on the kirk by the king and parliament

* Calderwood apud Crookshanks Ch. of Scot. vol. i. p. 13.

† Easter and Christmas.

liament. The acts of 1584 were either rescinded or explained,* and the church placed on the foot-^{Cent. XVI.}
 ing on which its members had long wished, but had never been able to attain. The Presbyterian government was here completely established, with the assemblies, the synods, the presbyteries, and kirk sessions. It must have been the uneasy and dangerous situation of James at this period which occasioned this strange condescension. Besides his lenity to the Popish peers, he had lost great credit by not pursuing the murtherers of the young Earl of Murray. His favorite, the chancellor, too, was threatened by a strong party; and Lord Bothwell, whom the king hated and dreaded, possest the ear of the queen, and kept him in incessant terror. Amid these perils he probably thought it right to secure the friendship of a numerous corps of rough, ill-bred, disgusting, but well intentioned men.

The Presbyterian clergy were not formed to enjoy such advantages with indifference. They declaimed more loudly than ever against the encouragement given to Roman Catholics; and the synod of Fife, in 1493, excommunicated the Popish peers, in spite of the earnest endeavors of James; who condescended to intreat Robert Bruce, a favorite minister, to stop the sentence, but in vain. ‘Well,’ said the irritated king, ‘I

~~Cent. XVI.~~ could have no rest till ye got what ye call the “discipline of your church” established; now, seeing I have found it abused, and that none among you hath power to stay such disorderly proceedings, I will think of a mean to help it.* Yet, notwithstanding this sudden displeasure of the unsteady James, he had strangely permitted the church to gain one great point, in the last parliament: an act to declare such persons who obstinately set at defiance the censures of the church, outlaws,† rebels, and liable to the penalty of rebellion.

~~Edin-
burgh
humbled.~~

In 1596 the Scottish ministers, incensed beyond measure at the indulgence shewn by the timid James to the insolent conduct of the Roman Catholic peers, insulted their monarch in his palace. But enough has been said of this, and of the consequent humiliation of the citizens of Edinburgh, in another place.

It was now, that, from a retrospect to the contests in which the crown had been perpetually engaged against the clergy, it began to strike the not-unobserving king, that it might be more easy by gentle means to persuade the assemblies to lay restrictions on themselves, than to attempt compulsion by acts of parliament, which always created such a spirit of resistance as made their execution dangerous and doubtful.

In

* Spotswood, p. 398.

+ Stat. 164. Parl. 13, Jac. VI.

In consequence of this well-judged plan, he sent to the North, and other distant districts, and allured numbers of clergymen, less prejudiced against the regal authority than those of the capital, to attend and vote. Two general assemblies, held in 1597, modulated thus, and somewhat freed from the despotic command of the violent Bruce, Melvill, Black, &c. agreed to many regulations which, had they sprung from any other source, would have met an obstinate resistance. They restrained the hitherto unlimited licence of inveighing against the king or private persons from the pulpit ; they gave up the privilege of convoking assemblies without the king's leave ; and they allowed him to nominate ministers for the principal towns. By these compliant synods the Popish earls were allowed to make a public recantation of their errors, were absolved from excommunication, and received into the bosom of the church. [116]

But the most difficult task was yet to come. Gains James wished to procure seats in the senate for every point, and institutes bishops. the heads of the church, and this idea affected every good kirk minister with horror. In vain were they told of the vast addition to the credit and consequence of their fraternity. Still they

NOTES.

[116] These ungracious babes tarried not long with their forgiving parent, but repaired again to haunts of her whom the Scots preachers honored with the title of the Whore of Babylon.

[ROBERTSON.]

Cent. XVI. were resolute, ‘ Varnish over this scheme with what colors you please,’ said one of the leading clergymen, ‘ deck the intruder with your utmost art ; under all this disguise I see the horns of the mitre.’ Yet even this point was gained at last, and fifty-one persons, it was settled, were to be chosen from the clergy to represent that estate in parliament ; but the manner of their election, their powers, and even their titles, were left for future discussion.

Seditious preachers forgiven. The king, in 1598, with great good-nature, remitted all the errors of the Edinburgh preachers, and gave them leave to take the same stations which they had formerly possessed. The petulant Robert Bruce alone raised some scruples concerning receiving a new form of ordination. The rest acquiesced and were grateful ; and even Bruce, on his submission some time after, was permitted to preach in the capital.

Letter to the Pope. In 1559 a correspondence between James and the Pope gave great alarm to the warm Protestants in the North. Indeed, from the extreme solicitude which the cautious monarch testified to gain the favor of every party, there is nothing surprising in the fact of his writing to the pontiff in polite terms, addressing him as ‘ Beatissime Pater,’* and giving him hopes of more indulgence for the Roman Catholics. Elphinston, the secretary,

* Calderwood, p. 427.

secretary, however taking the whole affair on ^{Cent. XVI.} himself, the matter was dropped.

In 1601 an assembly of the church of Bruntisland resounded with complaints against the depravity of the age. It was agreed that the nation must soon be swallowed up by Popery or Atheism. To prevent these evils, it was determined, with laudable perverseness, to fast on the two last ^{concerning Po-} Sundays in June, and to double the severity with ^{tery and} which all the Roman Catholics were treated. A ^{Atheism.} very insolent letter from John Davidson was sent to the assembly, ridiculing the indolence and apathy of the Scottish church, and lamenting the striding approach of Popery and prelacy.

The complaints of the parochial clergy were loudly sounded in the ears of the king at this juncture. They were still kept at a very short allowance, and even that was irregularly paid. The king, as he had often done before, promised redress, but took no effectual steps.

No farther transaction of any importance is to be found in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland at the opening of the seventeenth century.

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